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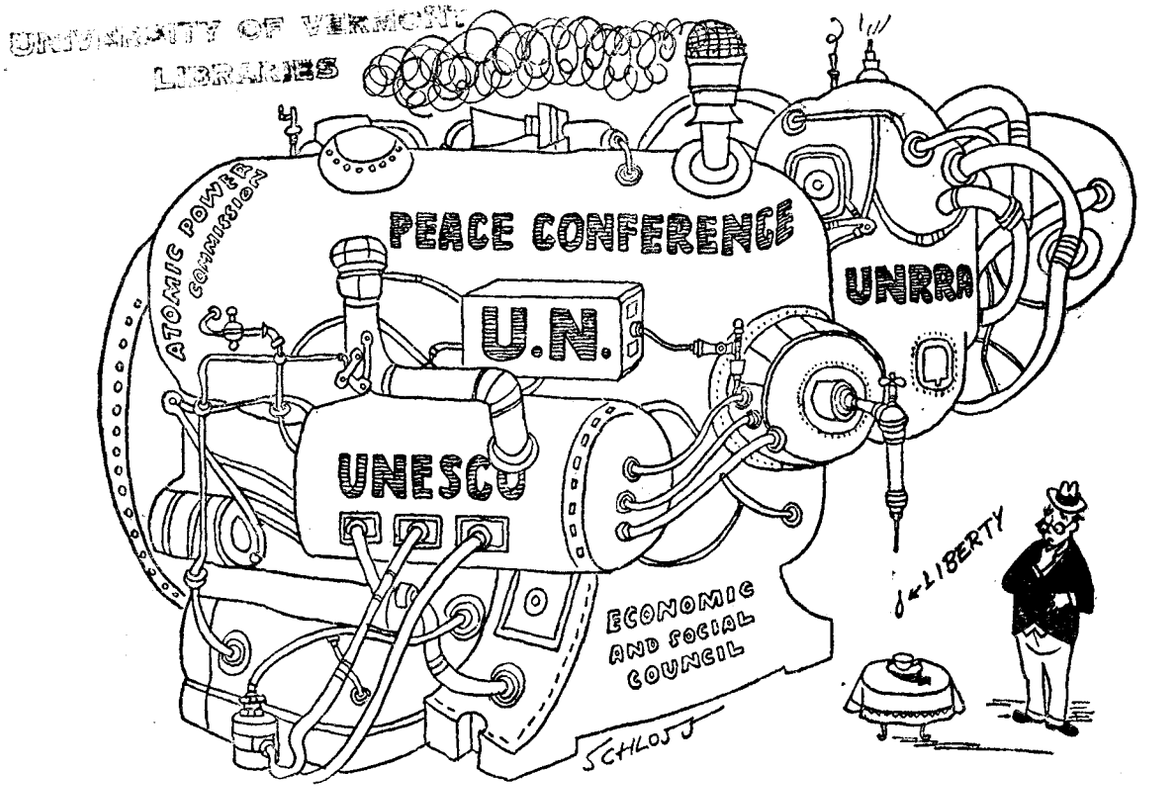

HENRY WALLACE

and the Path to Peace

with the full text of his history-making letter to President Truman

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The Divine Right of Capital

C. E. AYRES

Author of THE THEORY OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS

What causes depressions, or, in the economist's language, how can we account for the wild swings of the business cycle in a capitalistic economy? To this central question of the twentieth century, Professor Ayres supplies a brilliant, controversial, and optimistic answer. Just as a once absolute monarchy was brought to heel by constitutional checks, so can the evils of "divine right capitalism" be reformed into "limited" capitalism.

The issue is between the two possible answers to the cause of depressions: *underconsumption vs. underinvestment*. If our economic machinery slows down periodically because we do not invest consistently enough in new capital equipment, then we should take one set of remedial measures: for example, more encouragement to venture capital, more favorable taxes for corporations, or subsidies to the machine tool industry.

But if underconsumption is the answer, then we will increase consumers' buying power by greatly extending social security payments and by wage and price tax on high-bracket incomes. By these measures we may close the gap between our consuming power and our producing power and hence normalize the swings of the economic pendulum. This program is drastic, says Ayres, but in it alone lies any hope of ending depressions and through that, of gaining world peace.

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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After the Wallace Dismissal

1. Crisis in Foreign Policy

PRIVATE CITIZEN Henry A. Wallace now has raised the banner of the Peace Party and has enlisted for the long campaign. It is the duty of every progressive American—indeed of every American who holds misgivings for the future in this atomic age—to enlist behind him. The stake is, as Wallace said in his cabinet valedictory last Friday night, the difference between life and death for our children and grandchildren.

It is to be a long fight and a hard one. For the moment, the proximate effect of Wallace's definition of the issues and his expulsion from the cabinet has been to strengthen the hand of Secretary Byrnes at Paris in effectuating the policies of President Truman, Senators Vandenberg and Taft and Admiral Leahy. But if Byrnes is strengthened, he is reinforced only as the administrator of a policy which is becoming increasingly bankrupt as a pursuit of honest peace. And its bankruptcy will become increasingly apparent as American toughness breeds Russian intransigence and both breed deadlock.

Byrnes, apparently, is now going to play out the hand of that American policy which uses the phrase "be fair but firm with Russia" to cloak the real ambition to challenge the Soviet Union on its every frontier. In this policy, the forces of reaction are to get the protection of the United States, from Greece, through Eastern Europe, to Manila and Nanking. Wallace has used moderate terms to question the possibility that such a program can produce real peace. Now that the program is to be subjected to national debate initiated by the former Secretary of Commerce, those doubts can and doubtless will be expressed with greater emphasis.

American foreign policy still can be swung back to the middle course pursued by Franklin D. Roosevelt and sought by his former Vice President. Certainly Mr. Truman has provided clear evidence that he is susceptible to national pressures, and there is no reason why the national debate now getting under way should not have an effect on the White House even more dynamic than the private whispers of the Leahys and the Vandenbergs which have proved so effective during the past six months in moving the United States out of the position of "honest broker" standing between Russia and Britain to that of a direct challenger of the Soviet Union.

The opportunity is now, because there is every indication that events in Paris are again moving toward crisis. It must be expected that with Wallace dismissed from the cabinet, Russia will understand that the last advocate of a middle course is gone from the American official scene. From the Russian point of view, that understanding will of necessity require even stronger defensive tactics in the diplomatic arena. If Molotov has been difficult in the past, he now may be expected to be more difficult in the future.

For too many months, the Democratic-Republican sponsors of the Truman-Byrnes-Vandenberg thesis succeeded in maintaining the illusion that, from an American viewpoint, there was no practical alternative to their policies. When Byrnes came home from Paris in July after the foreign ministers' compromises that left the world suspended between war and peace, he was unchallenged in his report that while the Luxembourg agreements were not good, they were the best possible under the circumstances. "They represent as satisfactory an approach to the return of peace as we could hope for in this imperfect and war-weary world," he said.

Under that brand of defeatism, most Americans winced but remained silent, while American fighting planes wrote the initials "FDR" over Athens to celebrate the consolidation of reaction in unhappy Greece. There was no open national revulsion against the State Department's covert encouragement of every reactionary force in Eastern Europe that offered any possibility of challenging Russian hegemony in lands bordering on Russia.

But now Wallace has established that there *is* an alternative; he has shown that the Byrnes defeatism is neither necessary nor expedient; and he has summoned all men of good will to the standard of peace to compel reëxamination and reorientation of American

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policy. The national swing necessary to bring this about may be slow in coming. But come it must, and when Americans make their decision it may well have devastating effects on Mr. Truman and his new-found friends, the old-line isolationists who have adopted internationalism to challenge Russia first and support reaction both at home and abroad.

President Truman probably was whistling into the wind when he told Wallace of his great confidence that a real rapprochement with Russia could be achieved under his present policies. But even though he was not impressed, Wallace now has given the President and Byrnes full opportunity to exploit this belief. Actions still speak louder than words, and Wallace would be proved wrong should Byrnes come home from Paris with substantial indication that an enduring relationship with Russia is in prospect. But unfortunately for the advocates of the "be tough" theory, almost nobody in Washington who is qualified to judge agrees with Mr. Truman.

If, as now seems likely, Byrnes comes home from Paris this fall with no more than the dubious compromises currently in prospect and uses the old brand of defeatism to explain the obvious and dangerous trend toward war, the President and the Secretary of State may—and should—find themselves in serious trouble with the American people.

Mr. Truman's statement that the "great body of our citizens" support the Truman-Byrnes-Vandenberg thesis was dubious at the outset. There have been millions of Americans who gravely questioned the bases of that policy even when it still was successfully cloaked in the illusion that it was the only practicable course and was dictated by inescapable necessity. Now that Wallace has stripped it of that disguise, there must be many more who will revolt against a policy which was sold to a floundering President by a faction whose members always did feel that Russia is their natural enemy and that this country's greatest mistake was in fighting Hitler. A new failure at Luxembourg to achieve anything more than a hair-trigger truce will strip the Byrnes-Vandenberg idea of the last vestiges of expedience.

2. The Liberals and '46

HENRY WALLACE is out of the cabinet. Harry Truman has proved himself an even weaker leader than most people had estimated. Progressives are now left without a single major spokesman inside the Administration.

The reactionaries in both parties are exultant. The Republican high command has settled back, confident of victory in the House and now optimistic even about capturing the Senate. A convincing new dispatch from Paris indicates that the "ultimatum" which Secretary Byrnes and Senators Vandenberg and Connally delivered to the President on Wallace's dismissal was the immediate result of Jim Farley's arrival in Paris from a visit to the Vatican and his insistence that they get tough with Truman. The Democratic National Committee has removed both Wallace's and Senator Claude Pepper's names from the official speakers' list for the campaign.

But November 5 is still election day. And the choice is still between electing a Democratic or a Republican Congress next year.

To us that choice is still as clear as we tried to present it in our special election supplement, *Facts for November*, last week. A Democratic Congress is still a first essential to the achievement of peace and security.

Henry Wallace took a calculated political risk when he framed his September 12 speech. He had thought deeply for months past on the matters it concerned. He had decided that his most important single duty was to attempt to turn the full force of public opinion against the course which Secretary Byrnes was pursuing at Paris. He saw the personal political risk involved and put it out of his mind as unimportant in the face of the world disaster he foresaw if United States policy toward Russia was not changed.

Wallace tried and failed to change our policy at Paris. But he has given his word that he will not stop until United States policy has become truly a peace policy. Only one meaning can be read into this pledge —that Henry Wallace has only begun to fight politically. And to anyone who knows his philosophy, this can only mean that he will continue to do his fighting from within the Democratic Party, the black headlines in the anti-Wallace press notwithstanding.

Harry Truman has turned Henry Wallace out of his cabinet. But he cannot turn Wallace, or Wallace's ideas, or the millions of people who believe in them, out of the Democratic Party of Roosevelt and Jefferson and Jackson. The black record of the Republicans in the last Congress and the reactionary character of the Republican leadership remain unchanged since Truman fired Wallace. Many fine young progressives are entering national politics this year as candidates for Congress on the Democratic ticket. Veteran New Dealers like Democratic Senators Guffey (Pa.), Tunnell (Del.), Kilgore (W. Va.), Chavez (N. M.) and Murdock (Utah) are up for reëlection. On the other hand, in the recent primaries the Republicans almost unanimously chose the most reactionary of the candidates running. Representatives Charles La Follette of Indiana, Joseph C. Baldwin of New York City and Senator Robert La Follette of Wisconsin were all given the gate by the GOP for being too liberal.

There is no place for liberalism in the Republican Party. And there is no place for a third party in United States politics today. There is no way to real peace for America except by winning the Democratic Party to

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that view. The amateur liberals of the Eastern cities may skeptically reject this as a possibility. But the thousands who have dirtied their hands in the actual work of a local political campaign do not find this notion fanciful. Those who cherish the prospect of something better than Thomas Dewey in 1948, however, should remember what the ounce of prevention in 1946 is better than.

We hope that Henry Wallace and Claude Pepper will join forces and will recruit other liberal spokesmen to their side to tell the voters what the real issues of this election are. We hope that they will both be as tireless and as selfless as they have been in campaigning in the past. We feel sure that they will tell the voters of the Northern industrial cities, where most of the doubtful congressional districts are located, that they must bend every effort to elect a Democratic Congress on November 5, that the liberal fight has to be fought out there. The Democrats barely held the House of Representatives with 28 million votes cast in 1942. The Liberal bloc was still puny in the Seventy-ninth Congress for which almost 50 million votes were cast in 1944. Only the independent political-action groups can raise the total to the 50 million needed to block reaction this year.

Henry Wallace was crediting the liberal movement with considerable maturity when on September 12 he called on its members to do two things at one time—to demand a changed foreign policy and to stick at the job of electing a more liberal Congress. If his confidence is well placed, November can see a Democratic victory, which will swell the number of reliable liberals in the House and guarantee an opportunity to pursue our fight for a Democratic foreign and domestic policy from within the Democratic Party.

For Freer World Trade

The proposed charter for an international trade organization, prepared by the United States after consultations with England and France, constitutes a desirable step toward freer world trade. But the proposals are modest, at least in their immediate effect, and could not be carried out for a long time. Compromises are made to permit British Empire preferences to be continued and to allow the United States to grant preferential treatment to Cuba and the Philippines and to continue its bilateral tin agreement with Bolivia. The charter condemns these restrictive practices and requires that the nations involved attempt to abolish them by reciprocal negotiations.

The charter is to be discussed by 19 nations at a preparatory conference in London on October 15. There will be further discussions in the spring, and it is hoped that a full-dress conference may be called before the end of 1947.

While the general objectives are far from revolutionary, they are admirable and, considered in the light of Bretton Woods, the British loan, Export-Import Bank loans and the Reciprocal Trade-Agreements Act, are definitely encouraging. The general objectives are to remove barriers to trade and commerce imposed by governments, such as tariffs and quota systems, and barriers imposed by private groups, such as cartels and other monopoly arrangements. The ITO would be an arm of the United Nations Economic and Social Council.

Things to Watch Out For:

1. The next Congress to scuttle the congressional-reorganization bill passed at the end of last session. Seniority will triumph. Even some progressive members oppose the committee-streamlining plan, which would cost them their jobs. Congress will simply adopt new rules, omitting the reorganization features.

2. Southern Democratic and Northern Republican members of the Mead War Investigation Committee to gang up against election of Senator Harley Kilgore (D, W. Va.) to succeed Mead as chairman. They don't want the kind of fearless investigation Kilgore's past work on the committee indicates he would lead.

3. The CIO leaders to prevail on President Philip Murray to reconsider his decision to retire at the November convention. They can prove to him that he is indispensable.

4. Henry Wallace and Senator Claude Pepper to organize a national peace crusade to stump the country this year—also to make it unmistakably clear to the Conference of Progressives in Chicago this weekend that they will have no part in any third-party move, ever.

5. Wallace and Pepper to campaign as vigorously as in the past for progressive Democratic candidates in all parts of the country, despite being barred by the party. They will make their own arrangements on invitation from the individual candidates they support.

6. A continued softening of our present trend to allow Britain her empire-preference system without protest. Our excuse is that we are guilty of preferential arrangements with the Philippines and Cuba and so are not free to act.

7. As little detailed reporting of General Eisenhower's activities on his coming inspection trip in England as was given to Field Marshal Sir Bernard Montgomery's visit to this country. They are very busy ducking questions about why the Combined Chiefs of Staff organization is still in existence and what it is doing.

8. Republican campaigners to concentrate their fire on capturing the Senate. Word has gone out from national GOP headquarters that capture of the House is now a certainty; the job to be done is on the Senate.

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The Lid Comes off Prices

THE WAY is now clear for industry to demand large price increases. The OPA last week issued procedures for price increases provided under the Barkley-Taft profit amendment to the phony Price Control Act passed by the last Congress. Industry advisory committees are now allowed to request a price increase if the ceiling prices fail to cover 1940 average prices of products, plus industrywide average cost increases since then. To qualify for a price increase, an industry must submit full data based on current costs plus "reasonable profit," which has been defined as one-half the industry's average over-all percentage of operating profit on sales in the period 1936-39 inclusive.

In order to avoid turning over their records to the OPA, industries seem to be seeking complete decontrol of items rather than price increases. This was evident last week when a group of irate restaurant owners, in protesting the rollback of meal prices—especially on meat offerings—to June 30 levels, refused to open their records to OPA officials. Actually, although meat prices at retail were brought back under control on September 10, restaurants were allowed an additional week at prices prevailing during the meat-decontrol period so that they could use up supplies on hand. When the OPA was considering what restaurant ceiling prices should be on meat in the event that the Decontrol Board ordered it back under controls, price officials asked the restaurants for a reasonable amount of information on their earnings so as to determine whether they could absorb higher costs. The restaurateurs refused, which left the OPA without the facts necessary to decide on higher ceiling prices for meat servings.

The OPA has flatly stated that until industry shows that earnings are below 1942 levels, no increase will be granted. In the meantime, it is working on a revision of the restaurant regulation to provide uniform price increases for the whole industry on meals or individual dishes containing as a major ingredient any decontrolled commodity.

Dairy Products. – The Decontrol Board may be forced to accede to Price Administrator Paul Porter's demand to recontrol dairy products. Although last week the Board refused to put milk products back under control, top officials in the dairy division of the OPA believe that recontrols may be necessary during October and November—the months when there is a shortage of dairy products even in normal times—if prices rise out of the reach of average consumers.

Porter, who called for "immediate recontrol" on dairy products as essential to the stabilization program, warned that the upward trends of cheese and butter prices indicated a movement of all dairy-product prices which was substantial and dangerous. The Board's experts are now making a study of dairy prices and, if they rise unreasonably, will subject them to recontrol.

Meat. – Apparently the public has fallen for the industry's propaganda that the meat famine is a result of price control. The Decontrol Board has received a barrage of appeals to lift price ceilings on meat. Several Representatives, including Scrivner (R., Kans.), protested the results of the Board's ruling on August 20 which reimposed the ceilings.

Actually, the new price-control law passed by Congress does not give the Board authority to grant such requests, since it provides that the decontrol of meat must be made by an industry advisory board to the Secretary of Agriculture. Up to now, the Department of Agriculture has reluctantly held the price line on meat products, although informed officials predicted that the shortage would continue until next year and that public protest may force revision of the law.

The dearth of fresh supplies has forced the prices of fish, poultry and canned meats to unreasonable heights in many areas, but there is still not sufficient evidence to justify immediate revision of meat regulations.

Wages and Prices. – The Wage Stabilization Board's throat has been cut, but that agency is so dormant that it may not discover what happened for several months. The slashing was done on President Truman's behalf by John R. Steelman, director of the Office of Economic Stabilization, who believed it to be the most feasible way to bring order out of chaos in the complex maritime-strike situation. His weapon was the simple device of amending stabilization regulations so as to make it unnecessary for a government agency—in this case the Maritime Commission—to obtain WSB approval for raising wages to conform with rates prevailing for similar jobs in private industry.

While the advisory board of the OWMR was considering a new wage-stabilization policy, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that approximately one-fifth of all factory workers had gained no general wage increases between V-J Day and May, 1946. Of every 10 workers who received boosts, three had their hourly rates advanced 18.5 cents an hour or more, three from 15 to 18.5 cents, two from 10 to 15 cents, and two by 10 cents or less. The average general increase was only 14.5 cents. When all workers are considered, the average gain amounted to about 11.5 cents—or a 12-percent increase. By comparison, price increases from V-J Day to August, 1946, have been estimated at 11 percent for all items, and 22 percent for retail foods.

It is doubtful if the WSB will be declared officially extinct for some time—probably not before next spring, when the OPA will be sent to the death house to await congressional execution. It is patently absurd to lift price controls in wholesale fashion and expect wage controls to survive.

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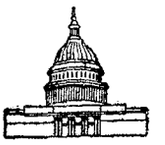
Washington Wire—Truman, Wallace, Byrnes



PRESIDENT TRUMAN doesn't make policies, he chooses them. If cabinet members present rival policies, Mr. Truman selects the one he wants or makes a compromise. In essence, that is the difference between him and President Roosevelt. It is particularly true now in foreign affairs. Secretary Byrnes emerges with an authority previously held by few State Department heads. He not only carries through the foreign policies of the nation; he has the authority now to initiate and map them. How little Mr. Truman follows foreign affairs is indicated by his failure to grasp on perusal of the Wallace speech the difference between the Wallace and Byrnes viewpoints.

Under a strong President, a man who formulated his own policies, the Wallace-Byrnes issue might not have developed into an open break. Their differences are not over objectives, but methods, though here the cleavage is deep. Mr. Wallace's departure from the cabinet is profoundly regrettable. He symbolized the liberal element in the divided Democratic Party, an element for which Mr. Truman has a genuine and, I believe, sincere yearning. Now that the cleavage has occurred, it is harder than ever to see how the Democrats will win in 1948. The question is coming to be, not whether it will be a Republican in 1948, but which?

In making an estimate of Henry Wallace as an independent political figure, one finds elements of great strength and weakness. I have known him for twenty years and have a strong affection for him. He is sincere, idealistic, courageous. He is conscientious to a fault. He is a religious man with a lofty code of action. That would make him a political curiosity almost anywhere. He is practical, too. He has not only met a payroll, but his scientifically developed hybrid corn is an agricultural and financial success. He has an open, inquiring, philosophic mind. Such a man will always have followers in America.

But Wallace is shy. He loves humanity, but has some difficulty meeting people. Politically he is not very magnetic. He showed this lack as Vice President, where in four years of meeting Senators he won little political influence. This was a disappointment to Roosevelt and many of his friends. A Vice President has an extraordinary opportunity to be quietly powerful. But Wallace didn't tell anecdotes, he didn't have a capacious refrigerator always handy—as Jack Garner did—he didn't speak the politicians' language. They were never quite comfortable in Hank's company. A good many groups would like to use him now, for various ends. His friends believe he is shrewd enough to know his way around.

There was a time when Senator Gerald P. Nye was the hero of many liberals. That was the disillusioned era after World War I, when a curious mixture of liberalism-pacificism-isolationism controlled important progressive groups. I remember covering the Nye munitions investigation: to excitable people, Nye seemed to prove that Wilson had been the dupe of the duPonts, that the League was just idealistic eyewash. It took Hitler to convince many progressives that a tougher approach to world affairs was needed. Today, I think Wallace and some of his followers should guard themselves against a recurrence of that cycle of vast oversimplification; above all, think out, and define clearly, every term used. In his moving farewell radio talk, Private Citizen Wallace himself took note of certain misunderstandings created by his Madison Square Garden speech. Everyone is agreed that the Wallace private memorandum to Truman on July 23, reprinted in this issue of the *New Republic*, is a much more careful, and stronger, presentation of his views than his oversimplified speech with its political flourishes.

With a big tumble in stocks already here and depression warnings flying in all the Wall Street tipster sheets, Edwin G. Nourse has called on Truman. Nourse is the man who, with his two colleagues, Leon Keyserling and John D. Clark, is supposed to chart the economic course of America. They compose the new economic GHQ, the Council of Economic Advisers under the full-employment bill. In less than four months they must advise the President of their joint views. Their reports are going to be something new and spectacular in the Washington scene. Meanwhile other government agencies are preparing their own reports, which the GHQ will analyze and digest. The current feeling in Washington still is that there won't be a really major depression for at least four or five years. The current decline is still being referred to as a "shake-up." A shake-up can be pretty serious though. After the First World War, thousands of farmers were ruined when prices dropped badly. In a short time newspapers will be reporting that the current price level has gone above the post-World War I inflation peak of 1920. Economists here believe the bad farm-price break won't come for a year or so; one prediction is, after the harvest of 1948—just prior to the presidential election.

Notes.—The report that Phil Murray wants to step down as head of the CIO and devote himself to his own steel union is correct; it will be threshed out at the forthcoming CIO annual convention. . . . Harold Stassen's rosy picture in a recent *Collier's* of what a Republican Congress would do if elected causes amusement here: there would be "no wild Red-baiting" and resistance to "short-sighted attempts at hasty reductions in taxes." . . . Actually Red-baiting is being led today by GOP Chairman Reece, while Representative Knutson (R, Minn.) is leading the cry for 20-percent income-tax cuts. . . . Organized ganging-up against the OPA continues and will last at least through the election; indeed, there's some question whether enforcement can survive the wholesale attacks that are now beginning.

Washington T. R. B.

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Political Roundup—The Democrats' Dilemma

DEMOCRATIC National Chairman Robert Hannegan and his campaign staff are sorely tried by the recent party upheaval over the foreign-policy views of Henry Wallace and Claude Pepper. They do not see how they can win the election this year without their help, and they do not see how they can persuade the Byrnes-Farley faction which forced Wallace's resignation to allow them to seek help from Wallace and Pepper openly.

Representative John Sparkman, director of the campaign speakers' bureau, felt obliged to announce that Wallace and Pepper were off the official speakers' list the day after Wallace was fired and Pepper delivered his very critical address to the Railroad Brotherhoods' convention. But Sparkman is busily trying to withdraw from this position and is encouraging quiet arrangements between individual candidates and the two liberal leaders. The reason is simple—the same one which has kept Bob Hannegan working for the friendliest possible relations with labor and liberal political-action organizations ever since 1944. The fact is that about two-thirds of the 99 so-called key congressional districts in this election—that is, those districts which were carried by less than five percent of the total vote in 1944—are in the big industrial centers of the North and West.

Bob Hannegan and his staff know that the big-city machines of Kelly, Hague and Tammany are no longer strong enough to turn out the vote required without plenty of outside help. The independent political-action organizations, such as the CIO Political Action Committee, the National Citizens' Political Action Committee and the Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, are the only source of that help, and practically the only campaign speakers who are able to create real enthusiasm in these groups to get out and do the hard work it takes to win an election are Wallace and Pepper. That was true even in 1944 and is doubly true today.

Jimmy Byrnes and Big Jim Farley have risked party defeat in their antagonism to Wallace. Hannegan and the other regular Democrats who put winning the election first have the tough job of figuring out how to circumvent their influence and get Wallace and Pepper back into the campaign.

Liberals Confer.—The conference of America's leading progressives in Chicago on September 28-29 may mark a great turning point for independent political action. Confronting the critical 1946 elections, the liberal cause cries for unity. Unless organized labor and the independent groups find unity in a common program of action, this will be the year of disaster.

The two-day session at Chicago's Continental Hotel, sponsored jointly by the National Citizens' PAC and the Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, offers all those who still stand by the New Deal the opportunity to find a basis for and means of coöperation. It is a significant and hopeful sign that the conference call is signed by Philip Murray, Jack Kroll, Walter White, A. F. Whitney, Frank Kingdon, James Patton, Harold Ickes, Jo Davidson, Clark Foreman, C. B. Baldwin and Elmer Benson. If the coördinated strength of the major organizations these leaders represent is thrown into the 1946 elections, it will demonstrate that although Roosevelt is gone, his principles and today's issues can still knit America's progressives together. A coalition in support of a program that will fulfill the needs of the people will give reason for hope beyond November 5. Independent political action should be long past the stage of dissolving into thin air when the last ballot is cast on election day—1948 is ahead.

The Women's Vote.—The Women's Division of NCPAC is conducting a special program for women voters in New York City which should be duplicated all over the country. During the month of October, NCPAC will sponsor six political workshops for women. Philip Murray, J. Raymond Walsh and Ralph Ingersoll will conduct classes on foreign and domestic issues in the campaign. Frank Kingdon will explain the place of independent political movements today. Adele Franklin will give a course called "Politics and Your Child." New Yorkers who wish to enroll in the workshop can do so by telephoning Circle 6-3000, or by calling at the Women's Division Office, 224 West Forty-ninth Street. If you want to organize a similar project in your town, write to Mrs. Blanche Mahler at NCPAC headquarters for information on how to do it.

Colorado.—John Carroll, Progressive candidate for Congress from the Denver district, won the recent Democratic primary by almost two to one. As previously reported in the *New Republic*, Colorado liberals considered this race the key to a general liberal comeback in the politics of the state. Carroll's victory can be largely attributed to the well coördinated precinct work done by the united forces of CIO, AFL, Railroad Brotherhoods, Young Democrats, Farmers' Union and the new Rocky Mountain Council for Social Action.

Carroll now goes into the general election with a fighting chance to win. In the primary, Carroll and his Democratic opponent Nevin together polled more than 25,000 votes, against about 12,500 for the Republican incumbent, Dean Gillespie, who was unopposed. The key to the final outcome is Democratic Mayor Stapleton of Denver, who is still noncommittal about Carroll. Part of his machine, however, sensing the waning power of the Mayor, supported Carroll in the primary. Victory for Carroll would be the greatest defeat the big-banker crowd on Denver's Seventeenth Street has suffered since their return to power in the state after the death of Senator Edward Costigan.

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The Path to Peace with Russia

by Henry A. Wallace

President Truman's dismissal of Henry Wallace makes doubly important Wallace's letter to the President on relations with Russia, which seems destined to become a cornerstone of the thinking of American liberals. The New Republic *presents below the full text of this letter, written July 23 and made public September 17.*

The President,
The White House

My dear Mr. President:

I hope you will excuse this long letter. Personally I hate to write long letters, and I hate to receive them.

My only excuse is that this subject is a very important one—probably the most important in the world today. I checked with you about this last Wednesday and you suggested after the cabinet meeting on Friday that you would like to have my views.

I have been increasingly disturbed about the trend of international affairs since the end of the war, and I am even more troubled by the apparently growing feeling among the American people that another war is coming and the only way that we can head it off is to arm ourselves to the teeth. Yet all of past history indicates that an armaments race does not lead to peace but to war. The months just ahead may well be the crucial period which will decide whether the civilized world will go down in destruction after the five or ten years needed for several nations to arm themselves with atomic bombs. Therefore I want to give you my views on how the present trend toward conflict might be averted.

You may think it strange, in reading further, that I should express so much concern at this particular time, just after the Foreign Ministers' conference at which real progress was made on peace treaties for several Eastern European countries and for Italy. Others have expressed a feeling of increased optimism that still further progress could be made through continued negotiations on the same basis, even though the remaining European issues are much more difficult than those on which a measure of agreement has already been reached. I am fully appreciative of the efforts that have been made and the patience that has been exercised by our various representatives who have carried on negotiations with the Russians during the last few years. I am conscious of the aggravations they have put up with and of the apparent inconsistencies on the part of Russian representatives. On the other hand, I feel these very difficulties make it necessary for some of us who, from the outside, are watching the course of events to voice our opinions.

Incidentally, as Secretary of Commerce I talk to a good many businessmen, and I find them very much concerned over the size of the federal budget and the burden of the national debt. For the next fiscal year and for the year immediately ahead by far the largest category of federal spending is the national defense. For example, the total recommended federal appropriations for the fiscal year 1947 submitted to the Congress in the official budget amounted to about $36 billion. Of the total budget, some $13 billion was for the War and Navy Departments alone. An additional $5 billion was for war liquidation activities. Ten billion represented interest on the public debt and veterans' benefits, which are primarily the continuing costs of past wars. These items total $28 billion, or about 80 percent of the total recommended expenditures.

Clearly, a large reduction in the federal budget would require a cut in military appropriations. These appropriations are now more than ten times as great as they were during the thirties. In the 1938 budget, appropriations for national defense were less than a billion dollars, compared with $13 billion for the present fiscal year. Thus, even from a purely dollars-and-cents standpoint, American business and the American people have an interest in organizing a peaceful world in which the completely unproductive expenditures on national defense could be reduced.

Of course, dollars and cents are not the most important reason why we all want a peaceful world. The fundamental reason is that we do not wish to go through another war—and especially an atomic war which will undoubtedly be directed primarily against civilian populations and may well mean the end of modern civilization.

Yet are we really concentrating all our efforts on a program to build a lasting peace? There can be no doubt that the American people want and expect that their leaders will work for an enduring peace. But the people must necessarily leave to their leaders the specific ways and means to this objective. I think that at the moment the people feel that the outlook for the elimination of war is dark, that other nations are willfully obstructing American efforts to achieve a permanent peace.

Put Yourself in Russia's Place

How do American actions since V-J Day appear to other nations? I mean by actions the concrete things like $13 billion for the War and Navy Departments, the Bikini tests of the atomic bomb and continued production of bombs, the plan to arm Latin America with our weapons, production of B-29's and planned production of B-36's, and the effort to secure air bases spread over half the globe from which the other half of the globe can be bombed. I cannot but feel that these actions must make it look to the rest of the world as if we were only paying lip-service to peace at the conference table. These facts rather make it appear either (1) that we are preparing ourselves to win the war which we regard as inevitable or (2) that we are trying to build up a predominance of force to intimidate the rest of mankind. How would it look to us if Russia had the atomic bomb and we did not, if Russia had 10,000-mile bombers and air bases within a thousand miles of our coast lines and we did not?

Some of the military men and self-styled "realists" are saying:

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"What's wrong with trying to build up a predominance of force? The only way to preserve peace is for this country to be so well armed that no one will dare attack us. We know that America will never start a war."

The flaw in this policy is simply that it will not work. In a world of atomic bombs and other revolutionary new weapons, such as radioactive poison gases and biological warfare, a peace maintained by a predominance of force is no longer possible.

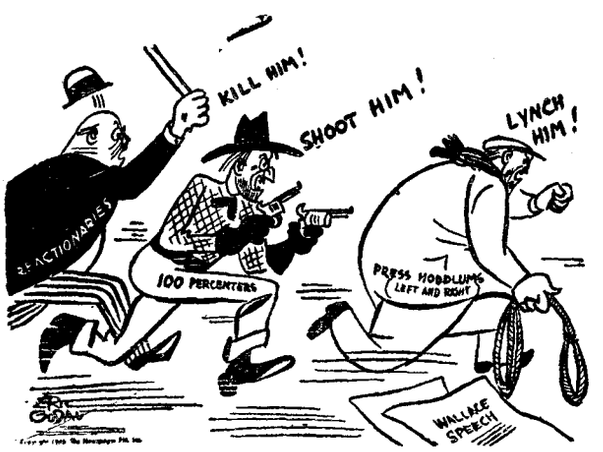
Why is this so? The reasons are clear:

First. Atomic warfare is cheap and easy compared with old-fashioned war. Within a very few years several countries can have atomic bombs and other atomic weapons. Compared with the cost of large armies and the manufacture of old-fashioned weapons, atomic bombs cost very little and require only a relatively small part of a nation's production plant and labor force.

Second. So far as winning a war is concerned, having more bombs—even many more bombs—than the other fellow is no longer a decisive advantage. If another nation had enough bombs to eliminate all of our principal cities and our heavy industry, it wouldn't help us very much if we had ten times as many bombs as we needed to do the same to them.

Third. The most important, the very fact that several nations have atomic bombs will inevitably result in a neurotic, fear-ridden, itching-trigger psychology in all the peoples of the world, and because of our wealth and vulnerability we would be among the most seriously affected. Atomic war will not require vast and time-consuming preparations, the mobilization of large armies, the conversion of a large proportion of a country's industrial plants to the manufacture of weapons. In a world armed with atomic weapons, some incident will lead to the use of those weapons.

There is a school of military thinking which recognizes these facts, recognizes that when several nations have atomic bombs, a war which will destroy modern civilization will result and that no nation or combination of nations can win such a war. This school of thought therefore advocates a "preventive war," an attack on Russia now, before Russia has atomic bombs. This scheme is not only immoral but stupid. If we should attempt to destroy all the principal Russian cities and her heavy industry, we might well succeed. But the immediate counter-measure which such an attack would call forth is the prompt occupation of all continental Europe by the Red Army. Would we be prepared to destroy the cities of all Europe in trying to finish what we had started? This idea is so contrary to all the basic instincts and principles of the American people that any such action would be possible only under a dictatorship at home.



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Because He Said "Peace"

Thus the "predominance of force" idea and the notion of a "defensive attack" are both unworkable. The only solution is the one which you have so wisely advanced and which forms the basis of the Moscow statement on atomic energy. That solution consists of mutual trust and confidence among nations, atomic disarmament and an effective system of enforcing that disarmament.

International Control of Atomic Energy

There is, however, a fatal defect in the Moscow statement, in the Acheson report, and in the American plan recently presented to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission. That defect is the scheme, as it is generally understood, of arriving at international agreements by "easy stages," of requiring other nations to enter into binding commitments not to conduct research into the military uses of atomic energy and to disclose their uranium and thorium resources while the United States retains the right to withhold its technical knowledge of atomic energy until the international control and inspection system is working to our satisfaction. In other words, we are telling the Russians that if they are "good boys" we may eventually turn over our knowledge of atomic energy to them and to the other nations. But there is no objective standard of what will qualify them as being "good" nor any specified time for sharing our knowledge.

Is it any wonder that the Russians did not show any great enthusiasm for our plan? Would we have been enthusiastic if the Russians had a monopoly of atomic energy, and offered to share the information with us at some indefinite time in the future at their discretion if we agreed now not to try to make a bomb and give them information on our secret resources of uranium and thorium? I think we should react as the Russians appear to have done. We would have put up counter-proposal for the record, but our real effort would go into trying to make a bomb so that our bargaining position would be equalized. That is the essence of the Russian position, which is very clearly stated in the *Pravda* article of June 24, 1946.

It is perfectly clear that the "step-by-step" plan in any such one-sided form is not workable. The entire agreement will have to be worked out and wrapped up in a single package. This may involve certain steps or stages, but the timing of such steps must be agreed to in the initial master treaty. Realistically, Russia has two cards which she can use in negotiating with us: (1) our lack of information on the state of her scientific and technical progress on atomic energy and (2) our ignorance of her uranium and thorium resources. These cards are nothing like as powerful as our cards—a stockpile of bombs, manufacturing plants in actual production, B-29's and B-36's, and our bases covering half the globe. Yet we are in effect asking her to reveal her only two cards immediately—telling her that after we have seen her cards we will decide whether we want to continue to play the game.

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Insistence on our part that the game must be played our way will only lead to a deadlock. The Russians will redouble their efforts to manufacture bombs, and they may also decide to expand their "security zone" in a serious way. Up to now, despite all our outcries against it, their efforts to develop a security zone in Eastern Europe and in the Middle East are small change from the point of view of military power as compared with our air bases in Greenland, Okinawa and many other places thousands of miles from our shores. We may feel very self-righteous if we refuse to budge on our plan and the Russians refuse to accept it, but that means only one thing—the atomic-armament race is on in deadly earnest.

A Genuinely Bilateral Plan

I am convinced therefore that if we are to achieve our hopes of negotiating a treaty which will result in effective international atomic disarmament we must abandon the impractical form of the "step-by-step" idea which was presented to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission. We must be prepared to reach an agreement which will commit us to disclosing information and destroying our bombs at a specific time or in terms of specified actions by other countries, rather than at our unfettered discretion. If we are willing to negotiate on this basis, I believe the Russians will also negotiate seriously with a view to reaching an agreement.

There can be, of course, no absolute assurance the Russians will finally agree to a workable plan if we adopt this view. They may prefer to stall until they also have bombs and can negotiate on a more equal basis, not realizing the danger to themselves as well as the rest of the world in a situation in which several nations have atomic bombs. But we must make the effort to head off the atomic-bomb race. We have everything to gain by doing so, and do not give up anything by adopting this policy as the fundamental basis for our negotiation. During the transition period toward full-scale international control we retain our technical know-how, and the only existing production plants for fissionable materials and bombs remain within our borders.

The Russian counter-proposal itself is an indication that they may be willing to negotiate seriously if we are. In some respects their counter-proposal goes even farther than our plan and is in agreement with the basic principles of our plan, which is to make violations of the proposed treaty a national and international crime for which individuals can be punished.

It will have been noted that in the preceding discussion I have not mentioned the question of the so-called "veto." I have not done so because the veto issue is completely irrelevant, because the proposal to "abolish the veto," which means something in the general activities of the Security Council, has no meaning with respect to a treaty on atomic energy. If we sign a treaty with other nations we will all have agreed to do certain things. Until we arrive at such a treaty, we as well as the other major powers will have the power of veto. Once the treaty is ratified, however, the question of veto becomes meaningless. If any nation violates the treaty provision, say of permitting inspection of suspected illegal bomb-making activities, what action is there that can be vetoed? As in the case of any other treaty violation, the remaining signatory nations are free to take what action they feel is necessary, including the ultimate steps of declaring war.

I believe that for the United States and Russia to live together in peace is the most important single problem facing the world today. Many people, in view of the relatively satisfactory outcome of the recent Paris conference, feel that good progress is being made on the problem of working out relations between the Anglo-American powers and Russia. This feeling seems to me to be resting on superficial appearances more productive of a temporary truce than of final peace. On the whole, as we look beneath the surface in late July of 1946, our actions and those of the Western powers in general carry with them the ultimate danger of a third world war—this time an atomic world war. As the strongest single nation, and the nation whose leadership is followed by the entire world with the exception of Russia and a few weak neighboring countries in Eastern Europe, I believe that we have the opportunity to lead the world to peace.

Problems of American-Russian Relationships

In general, there are two over-all points of view which can be taken in approaching the problem of the United States-Russian relations. The first is that it is not possible to get along with the Russians and therefore war is inevitable. The second is that war with Russia would bring catastrophe to all mankind, and therefore we must find a way of living in peaee. It is clear that our own welfare as well as that of the entire world requires that we maintain the latter point of view. I am sure that this is also your opinion, and the radio address of the Secretary of State on July 15 clearly indicates that he is prepared to negotiate as long as may be necessary to work out a solution on this basis.

We should try to get an honest answer to the question of what the factors are which cause Russia to distrust us, in addition to the question of what factors lead us to distrust Russia. I am not sure that we have as a nation or an administration found an adequate answer to either question, although we have recognized that both questions are of critical importance.

Our basic distrust of the Russians, which has been greatly intensified in recent months by the playing up of conflict in the press, stems from differences in political and economic organizations. For the first time in our history defeatists among us have raised the fear of another system as a successful rival to democracy and free enterprise in other countries and perhaps even our own. I am convinced that we can meet that challenge as we have in the past by demonstrating that economic abundance can be achieved without sacrificing personal, political and religious liberties. We cannot meet it, as Hitler tried to, by an anti-Comintern alliance.

It is perhaps too easy to forget that despite the deep-seated differences in our culture and intensive anti-Russian propaganda of some twenty-five years' standing, the American people reversed their attitudes during the crisis of war. Today, under the pressure of seemingly insoluble international problems and continuing deadlocks, the tide of American public opinion is again turning against Russia. In this reaction lies one of the dangers to which this letter is addressed.

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Why Russia Distrusts the West

I should list the factors which make for Russian distrust of the United States and of the Western world as follows: The first is Russian history, which we must take into account because it is the setting in which Russians see all actions and policies of the rest of the world. Russian history for over a thousand years has been a succession of attempts, often unsuccessful, to resist invasion and conquest—by the Mongols, the Turks, the Swedes, the Germans and the Poles. The scant thirty years of the existence of the Soviet government has in Russian eyes been a continuation of their historical struggle for national existence. The first four years of the new regime, from 1917 through 1921, were spent in resisting attempts at destruction by the Japanese, British and French, with some American assistance, and by the several White Russian armies encouraged and financed by the Western powers. Then, in 1941, the Soviet state was almost conquered by the Germans after a period during which the Western European powers had apparently acquiesced in the rearming of Germany in the belief that the Nazis would seek to expand eastward rather than westward. The Russians, therefore, obviously see themselves as fighting for their existence in a hostile world.

Second, it follows that to the Russians all of the defense and security measures of the Western powers seem to have an aggressive intent. Our actions to expand our military security system—such steps as extending the Monroe Doctrine to include the arming of the Western Hemisphere nations, our present monopoly of the atomic bomb, our interest in outlying bases and our general support of the British Empire—appear to them as going far beyond the requirements of defense. I think we might feel the same if the United States were the only capitalistic country in the world, and the principal socialistic countries were creating a level of armed strength far exceeding anything in their previous history. From the Russian point of view, also, the granting of a loan to Britain and the lack of tangible results on their request to borrow for rehabilitation purposes may be regarded as another evidence of strengthening of an anti-Soviet bloc.

Finally, our resistance to her attempts to obtain warm-water ports and her own security system in the form of "friendly" neighboring states seems, from the Russian point of view, to clinch the case. After twenty-five years of isolation and after having achieved the status of a major power, Russia believes that she is entitled to recognition of her new status. Our interest in establishing democracy in Eastern Europe, where democracy by and large has never existed, seems to her an attempt to reëstablish the encirclement of unfriendly neighbors which was created after the last war and which might serve as a springboard of still another effort to destroy her.

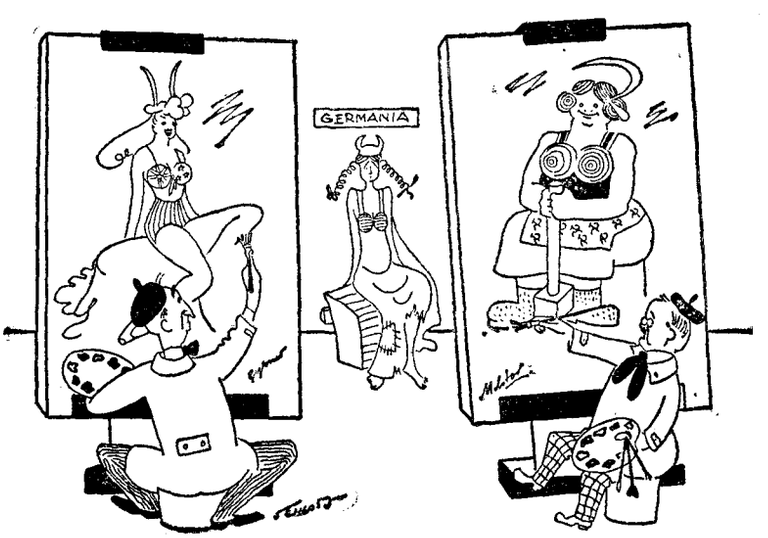
What We Should Do

If this analysis is correct, and there is ample evidence to support it, the action to improve the situation is clearly indicated. The fundamental objective of such action should be to allay any reasonable Russian grounds for fear, suspicions and distrust. We must recognize that the world has changed and that today there can be no "one world" unless the United States and Russia can find some way of living together. For example, most of us are firmly convinced of the soundness of our position when we suggest the internationalization and defortification of the Danube or of the Dardanelles, but we would be horrified and angered by any Russian counter-proposal that would involve also the internationalizing and disarming of Suez or Panama. We must recognize that to the Russians these seem to be identical situations.

We should ascertain from a fresh point of view what Russia believes to be essential to her own security as a prerequisite to the writing of the peace and to coöperation in the construction of a world order. We should be prepared to judge her requirements against the background of what we ourselves and the British have insisted upon as essential to our respective security. We should be prepared, even at the expense of risking epithets of appeasement, to agree to reasonable Russian guarantees of security. The progress made during June and July on the Italian and other treaties indicates that we can hope to arrive at understanding and agreement on this aspect of the problem.

We should not pursue further the question of the veto in connection with atomic energy, a question which is irrelevant and should never have been raised. We should be prepared to negotiate a treaty which will establish a definite sequence of events for the establishment of international control and development of atomic energy. This, I believe, is the most important single question, and the one on which the present trend is definitely toward deadlock rather than ultimate agreement.

We should make an effort to counteract the irrational fear of Russia which is being systematically built up in the American people by certain individuals and publications. The slogan that communism and capitalism, regimentation and democracy, cannot continue to exist in the same world is, from a historical point of view, pure propaganda. Several religious doctrines, all claiming to be the only true gospel and salvation, have existed side by side with a reasonable degree of tolerance for centuries. This country was for the first half of its national life a democratic island in a world dominated by absolutist governments.



Drawn for the New Republic by E. Schloss

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We should not act as if we too felt that we were threatened in today's world. We are by far the most powerful nation in the world, the only Allied nation which came out of the war without devastation and much stronger than before the war. Any talk on our part about the need for strengthening our defense further is bound to appear hypocritical to other nations.

The Role of Economic Relationships

We should also be prepared to enter into economic discussions without demanding that the Russians agree in advance to discussion of a series of what are to them difficult and somewhat unrelated political and economic concessions. Although this is the field in which my department is most directly concerned, I must say that in my opinion this aspect of the problem is not as critical as some of the others, and certainly is far less important than the question of atomic-energy control. But successful negotiation in this field might help considerably to bridge the chasm that separates us. The question of a loan should be approached on economic and commercial grounds and should be dissociated as much as possible from the current misunderstandings which flow from the basic differences between their system and ours. You have already clearly dissociated yourself and the American people from the expressions of anti-Soviet support for the British loan. If we could have followed up your statement on signing the British-loan bill with a loan to the USSR on a commercial basis and on similar financial terms, I believe that it would have clearly demonstrated that this country is not attempting to use its economic resources in the game of power politics. In the light of the present Export-Import Bank situation it is now of the greatest importance that we undertake general economic discussions at an early date.

Two-way Trade

It is of the greatest importance that we should discuss with the Russians in a friendly way their long-range economic problems and the future of our coöperation in matters of trade. The reconstruction program of the USSR and the plans for the full development of the Soviet Union offer tremendous opportunities for American goods and American technicians.

American products, especially machines of all kinds, are well established in the Soviet Union. For example, American equipment, practices and methods are standard in coal mining, iron and steel, oil and non-ferrous metals.

Nor would this trade be one-sided. Although the Soviet Union has been an excellent credit risk in the past, eventually the goods and services exported from this country must be paid for by the Russians by exports to us and to other countries. Russian products which are either definitely needed or which are non-competitive in this country are various non-ferrous metal ores, furs, linen products, lumber products, vegetable drugs, paper and pulp and native handicrafts.

I feel that negotiations on the establishment of active trade might well help to clear away the fog of political misunderstanding. Such discussions might well be initiated while we are endeavoring to reach a common ground on security issues and, if conducted in an understanding manner, could only serve to make that problem easier. In the memorandum which I sent to you in March and which I suggested should be given to General Smith to take to Moscow, I made certain suggestions for trade discussions and a trade mission.

In preference to proposed discussions in this country I want to renew my original proposal and urge the appointment of a mission to Moscow. Such a mission might have as its objective the drafting of a proposal involving Russian reconstruction and collaboration with Russia in the industrial and economic development of areas in which we have joint interests, such as the Middle East.

As I stated at that time, I am prepared to make suggestions for the composition of the mission and some of the specific economic questions to be discussed. The Department of Commerce has already arranged, with the coöperation of the State Department, to send two representatives to Moscow for the months of July and August for preliminary discussions of a much more limited scope.

I think it is very significant that most of the more optimistic reports about the possibilities of getting along with the Russians have come from American observers who were businessmen. I have in mind such men as Wendell Willkie, Eric Johnston, and former ambassador Joe Davies. The Russians seem to be friendly to, and seem to have respect for, capitalist businessmen.

A number of observers have reported that the Soviet leaders are "isolationists" and appear to be lacking a true insight into the principles, motives and ways of thinking in other nations. We must admit, however, that they pointed out the symptoms and the way to prevent World War II in their promotion of the concept of collective security. And aside from that, it seems to me we should try to do something constructive about their isolationism and ignorance, and I believe the aforementioned trade mission could accomplish much in that direction. I gather, too, that is part of what you have had in mind in inviting Premier Stalin to visit America.

Many of the problems relating to the countries bordering on Russia could more readily be solved once an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence is established and some form of economic arrangements is worked out with Russia. These problems also might be helped by discussions of an economic nature. Russian economic penetration of the Danube area, for example, might be countered by concrete proposals for economic collaboration in the development of the resources of this area, rather than by insisting that the Russians should cease their unilateral penetration and offering no solution to the present economic chaos there.

Summary

This proposal admittedly calls for a shift in some of our thinking about international matters. It is imperative that we make this shift. We have little time to lose. Our postwar actions have not yet been adjusted to the lessons to be gained from experience of Allied coöperation during the war and the facts of the atomic age.

It is certainly desirable that, as far as possible, we achieve unity on the home front with respect to our international relations; but unity on the basis of building up conflict abroad would prove to be not only unsound but disastrous. I think there is some reason to fear that in our earnest

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efforts to achieve bipartisan unity in this country we may have given way too much to isolationism masquerading as tough realism in international affairs.

The real test lies in the achievement of international unity. It will be fruitless to continue to seek solutions for the many specific problems that face us in the making of the peace and in the establishment of an enduring international order without first achieving an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence. The task admittedly is not an easy one. There is no question, as the Secretary of State has indicated, that negotiations with the Russians are difficult because of cultural differences, their traditional isolationism and their insistence on a visible *quid pro quo* in all agreements. But the task is not an insuperable one if we take into account that to other nations our foreign policy consists not only of the principles that we advocate but of the actions we take.

Fundamentally, this comes down to the point discussed earlier in this letter, that even our own security, in the sense that we have known it in the past, cannot be preserved by military means in a world armed with atomic weapons. The only type of security which can be maintained by our own military force is the type described by a military man before the Senate Atomic Energy Committee —a security against invasion after all our cities and perhaps forty million of our city population have been destroyed by atomic weapons. That is the best that "security" on the basis of armaments has to offer us. It is not the kind of security that our people and the people of the other United Nations are striving for.

I think that progressive leadership along the lines suggested above would represent and best serve the interests of the large majority of our people, would reassert the forward-looking position of the Democratic Party in international affairs, and finally, would arrest the new trend toward isolationism and a disastrous atomic world war.

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TVA Pioneers

by David E. Lilienthal

THE TVA, in its 13 years of existence, has never hesitated to try new methods, new machines and new ideas. One of its striking characteristics has been a willingness to explore any line of research if it seemed to offer a reasonable possibility of enabling the TVA to do a better job in the unified development of the Tennessee Valley region.

While public attention has been focused on spectacular dam building and widely publicized electric-power operations, a substantial number of vital research projects have succeeded practically unnoticed. Many of the machines, methods and processes which have been devised and expanded by the TVA were entirely new; others were adaptations of work originated elsewhere and modified to fit the problems of the region.

The TVA has always benefited in its various experiments by the coöperation of other agencies, federal, state and local, in diverse activities ranging from public health to civil engineering. The examples which follow comprise a partial list of those activities which now engage the attention of administrators, technicians and citizens in their combined efforts to further the development of the Valley.

War on Malaria. – Almost half a world separates the shores of Wheeler Lake in northern Alabama from the hills and streams of Greece, Albania and the Philippines. Yet, because of the TVA's successful battle against malaria in the Valley, the methods it developed are being used today to protect the health of peoples in these faraway places.

During the war the TVA converted Army planes for dusting and spraying in Pacific malarial areas. Shortly after this work was started, UNRRA asked the TVA to equip planes to be used in malaria-control work in Greece. This was followed by a United States Public Health Service order for more aircraft for use in the Philippines, and by another UNRRA order for use in Albania.

The TVA's contribution to this blending of engineering and medical science was made possible by 13 years of successfully combating the malaria-carrying mosquito along the shorelines of its 26 great artificial lakes. Improved methods of spraying and dusting came from the technicians of the TVA's Department of Health; credit for adaptation of Army training planes into machines for malaria warfare goes to its transportation specialists. In addition to adaptation of the thermal aerosol equipment for use in DDT spraying, the TVA helped train Greek and UNRRA pilots who do the actual work in the Balkan areas.

Substitutes for the Vanishing Chestnut. – The TVA puts a great deal of effort into searching for new opportunities for private manufacturers who want to use the Valley's resources; it is in effect a public research

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laboratory for the region. A recent example of this practical research concerns the tanning industry.

Eighty-five percent of the vegetable tannin used to manufacture heavy leather in the United States is extracted from chestnut and quebracho wood, the latter imported from South America. Chestnut blight, which invaded the Valley from Asia about 1904, has only left reserves for a comparatively few years.

If recent laboratory methods successfully developed by the TVA and other agencies prove to be commercially feasible, an estimated 40 million pounds of 25-percent tannin can be produced annually from "waste" that is now either burned for fuel or just plain burned. Oak from the sawmill slab pile, plus pine bark, may conceivably replace the almost extinct chestnut as the primary sources of native tannin.

A large leather-processing company has agreed to produce a car of oak-slab tannin at its Decatur, Alabama, plant and to utilize that tannin in the commercial manufacture of heavy leather. That pilot-plant test is now in operation.

Soil and Human Health. – Deep in the mountains of Virginia an intensive study is being carried on to find out the relation of human health to soil fertility. This study, started in 1944, is taking place in an isolated community, Konnarock, where the people live largely off the land. By 1920 intensive lumber operations had left the land bare, and most of the people remaining were forced to live on subsistence farms.

Approximately 80 farms are involved in the study. These are divided into two groups—one receiving fertilizer containing soil minerals and the other left unfertilized. Selected age groups, totaling 170 individuals from these farms, are used for careful clinical study. Dietary records on food consumption are obtained by a home economist, and chemical analyses of selected foods are made. Periodic physical examinations are made by the local physician with advice from representatives of Virginia Medical College and the State Health Department. The study will continue for five years.

Threshers for the Small Farmer. – A small threshing machine which works efficiently and economically on small, hilly farms, and which can be towed trailer-fashion to scattered and remote fields, is proving its worth in the Southeast and elsewhere. Following the TVA's development and demonstration, a North Carolina manufacturer has made and sold 258 of them, mostly in the Southeast.

Other sections of the United States, as well as other countries, are also profiting by this public research in the Tennessee Valley. Latin Americans are using a number of the threshers, UNRRA has placed an order for 500 for shipment to Central Europe and a private exporter has ordered 250 for South America.

Better Hay with Barn Hay-Driers. – Production of high-quality hay is increasing in the Southeast as a result of the development of a practical, low-cost barn hay-drier system. The equipment has already been installed in 500 barns in the region—about half of them last year. Farmers who have seen demonstrations have been quick to see the value of the system—because in field curing they are at the mercy of unpredictable weather conditions. With the drier they preserve the carotene content denoted by green color and retain nutritive value by practically eliminating leaf shattering.

The United States Department of Agriculture, grading 91 samples of hay from Virginia and Tennessee farms, found 88 percent of the barn-dried hay graded US No. 1 and No. 2, while only 35 percent of the field-dried hay graded that high. Besides the protection of the watershed which cover crops provide, hay is the most valuable single feed item in the dairy ration; not to cure a quality product is to waste land fertility, labor, fertilizer, seed and equipment investment.

Grain Drying. – Research often produces valuable by-products. Experiments on grain drying, with an adaptation of the barn hay-drier, have given promising results. In designing a test-demonstration grain-drier for a Middle Tennessee farmer last year, the forced-air hay-drier principle was incorporated. Approximately 3,200 bushels of barley, oats and mixed crimson clover and barley were dried. It was estimated that the equipment paid for itself several times over during the demonstration runs.

Research for Fishermen. – Two prominent bogies of sportsmen have been nailed to the barn door within the past few years as the broad lakes behind the TVA's multiple-purpose dams find increasing popularity with fishermen. The theory that these dams would create biological deserts has been disproved by actual experience, as was the long-held belief that closed seasons under all circumstances are a necessity for such waters.

Until a few years ago it was accepted that fish must be protected during the spawning period. TVA biologists found that fish were actually dying of old age in TVA lakes and they recommended to the state governments that fishing be permitted in TVA waters the year round. Today, all the Valley states have followed this recommendation and the catches from year to year have steadily increased.

Again, the winter drawdown on storage waters for flood control, once condemned as harmful to fishing, is now regarded by TVA fisheries investigators as an asset to the angler which offers no serious hazard to the food of game fish. Young shad eat the microscopic plants and animals in the open water, and game fish eat the shad. The drawdown does interfere with the

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food of bottom-feeders such as carp. Without the winter drawdown these rough fish probably would be abundant, doing serious damage to game fish. Now, in storage waters, they comprise a small part of the fish population after the first few years of impoundment.

Fishing in these storage reservoirs of the tributary streams, instead of being destroyed by impoundment, has actually increased 45 to 50-fold and the catch of game fish has increased fully as much.

Help to Mica Producers. – In North Carolina there are 1,700 mica mines and prospects, of which 150 are large, long-established operations. The mines produce a considerable quantity of "green mica" (as distinguished from "ruby mica," most of which is imported from India). Some green mica is not suitable for electrical insulation while ruby mica generally meets the specifications. Probably for this reason, a prejudice grew up against green mica which threatened to close down many Southeastern mines.

The TVA aided in arranging for exhaustive tests to determine the electrical properties of domestic mica. These investigations proved that domestic green mica, when properly prepared, is equal in performance to the best grade of imported ruby mica.

A TVA method of bonding mica sheets, approved by electric-iron manufacturers, has been adopted for full-scale production by a North Carolina sheet-mica fabricator.

Getting the Last Ounce of Value. – When Fontana Dam was built in western North Carolina, the TVA had to construct a complete village to house about 5,000 persons. The area, lying close to the Great Smoky Mountains, is remote from other communities. When the dam was nearing completion in 1944, the TVA was reluctant to tear down the construction village, although it had already served its purpose. A natural question arose: Could this ideally located little town be converted into a national recreational center?

Today, Government Services, Inc., a private non-profit corporation wholly independent of the TVA, is operating the village under a long-term lease. The resort adjoins the Great Smoky Mountains National Park and Nantahala National Forest. Now just starting operation, it offers to the vacationing public overnight, restaurant and cottage accommodations, boating and fishing on the lake, horseback riding and hiking and easy access to the adjacent park and forest.

Scientific Management of Valley Timber Resources. – In the Tennessee Valley today more than 14 million acres of forest land and the industries they support provide employment for almost 100,000 persons and contribute more than $100 million to the annual income of the region. These forests have not been regarded as a continuously producing resource, and the result has been liquidation of the timber at a rate which was rapidly putting many of these industries—and the dependent communities—out of business.

Today, TVA foresters have set up some 400 demonstration areas on private property and more are being established. All kinds of woodlands are represented, from small-farm woodlots of a few acres to extensive commercial timber tracts.

One demonstration, in southwestern Tennessee, is typical of the latter. Because timber was playing out, the timber owner was faced with the prospect of going out of business in five or six years. The company owned 50,000 acres. It asked for technical advice and agreed to operate the lands as a demonstration.

The foresters made four recommendations: (1) Keep forest fires to a practical minimum; (2) harvest timber selectively, only slow-growing, low-value trees being cut during the first 20 years of sustained-yield operation; (3) build up the growing stock by restricting the annual cut to less than the annual growth and (4) intensify manufacturing processes with emphasis on small-dimension products.

In 1944, when the operation was converted to sustained yield, the total salable timber volume was 81 million feet, more than 30 million of it in low-quality trees left by previous loggers. While this low-grade timber is being cut during the first years, the remaining trees will increase in volume to 104 million feet. By 1964, it should be possible to increase the annual cut to seven million feet and to maintain that production indefinitely. Three years of operation under sustained yield have proved that the foresters' recommendations were sound, and 20,000 more acres have been purchased and put on a selective-cutting schedule.

Freezer Locker Plants. – The TVA helped organize the Southeastern States Freezer Locker Engineering Committee, a group composed of members from colleges in the states of the region and the TVA. The Committee has recently published a comprehensive bulletin on "Planning a Locker Plant for the Southeast," with the purpose of enabling prospective locker-plant operators to do better preliminary planning and to state their problems clearly and concisely when seeking advice.

This is a project of major importance, since the Southeast is below the national average in number of locker plants. Interest is growing rapidly. Over a hundred prospective operators have already benefited by public research in this field.

Successful Community Coöperative. – Up on the Cumberland Plateau in Fentress County, Tennessee, an unusual combination of circumstances has promoted the development of a highly successful bean-grower's marketing coöperative. Local farmers began by selling their crops to truckers who hauled them to markets.

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During the marketing season of 1942 the vocational-agriculture teacher learned that a local boy, who had borrowed money to finance his bean crop, had received only one-half the market price for his product. The purchaser had received a commission on the full market price from the organization he represented.

Immediately thereafter, the Fentress Vegetable Growers, Inc., was organized as a coöperative bean auction, receiving assistance from the vocational-agriculture teacher, the county agent and the TVA. The members chopped timber and erected a marketing shed. The coöperative began operations with a paid-in capital of $102.50 and a $2,500 operating loan.

During its first season, $42,000 worth of beans were marketed at a cost of about three cents a bushel, and many of the growers estimated that they were paid an average of at least 50 cents a bushel more for their beans than they would have been without the association. Last year more than $75,000 worth of beans were marketed at a cost of only a cent and a half per bushel.

Seasonal Irrigation. – Despite the Tennessee Valley's relatively high rainfall, periods of drought frequently occur during crop-growing seasons, and the practice of using portable overhead irrigation on farm crops is rapidly increasing in the region. Approximately 1,500 acres are now under irrigation in the Valley.

Test demonstrations have shown increased net returns varying from $15 to $90 per acre as the result of irrigation. Strawberries and vegetable truck crops particularly respond profitably to irrigation. The limited work done in irrigating hay crops and pastures during dry seasons has shown benefits sufficient to encourage further research.

The foregoing activities give at least a partial picture of the work the TVA has done and is doing today to provide for the unified development of all the resources of the Tennessee Valley region. These projects, sources of new or increased incomes for the farmer and businessman, enable him to coöperate more effectively in programs to conserve the wealth inherent in the soils, minerals and forests of his homeland and utilize it for the welfare of the peoples of the region.

Citizens of the Valley, giving the TVA a high degree of friendly coöperation over the past 13 years, have not only helped themselves in very practical ways, but the influence of their example has already left its imprint throughout the nation and the world.

The World Does Move

by Nathan Robertson

IN A RADIO DEBATE on controlling the atomic bomb a few nights ago, four prominent public figures representing widely differing points of view agreed on the desirability of international control.

This agreement showed how fast and how far public sentiment has moved within a single year. It is easy these days to be pessimistic over world affairs, but no one should be too discouraged in view of the strides public thinking has made in the past year on this all-important issue.

While Russia is still holding out against a real international-control plan, it is a little difficult to realize that a year ago few of us were for it, either. It's hard to think back a year and realize the progress that has been made. But I have a little personal story that will help to illustrate it.

When the bomb was dropped on Hiroshima we all suddenly realized we were in a new era, a fearful era in which no one could be entirely free from the fear of sudden, horrible death. Our first inclination was to keep the secret of the bomb so no one could do to us what we had done to the Japanese. But our scientists quickly warned us that this was only short-range protection, that we couldn't keep the secret for long.

While they had been working on the bomb, the scientists had been thinking about its future and they were far ahead of the rest of us. They had already recognized that international control was the only answer, but they had to overcome the public's natural fears. My story shows what a tremendous job they have done.

I was one of the first they convinced. A few days after the bomb fell on Hiroshima I wrote an editorial for the newspaper *PM*, for which I was then working, proposing that we trade the secret of the bomb for the surrender by the nations of the world of sufficient sovereignty to set up an international-control plan.

Read today, the editorial doesn't sound very sensational. It proposed an international inspection system much along the lines of what is known now as the Lilienthal Plan, although it did not go so far. But it did plainly propose that instead of trying to hold the secret, we give it to the United Nations "provided the other nations of the world will agree to give that organization power to inspect [their] territory and [their] production plants at frequent intervals to guard against any nation secretly arming to attack the world."

To my dismay, I found the editors of *PM* wouldn't go that far. With all their justly warranted reputation for bold crusading for international peace and for advancing new ideas, they were still thinking in terms of secrecy. The most they were willing to propose was

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international control with the United States retaining the secret and acting as an agent for the United Nations in enforcing peace. That, of course, would not have eliminated an international atomic-bomb race.

I fought hard, even suggesting that if *PM* took the position I was advocating, the idea of secrecy would be left only for the Chicago *Tribune* and the most hard-shelled isolationists. Finally, on August 13, after a few days' delay, it printed my piece, but not as an editorial. It was published as "an original contribution to the thinking that must be done and the decisions which must be made if atom-smashing is to work for the people and not to destroy them."

Without *PM's* official sponsorship, the editorial did not attract much public attention. But the idea was moving ahead. The proposal did get a good reaction in circles where it counted. Favorable comment came from several members of the cabinet and the Senate. The piece was called to President Truman's attention.

A year ago not even the bold, bad *PM* would back such an "advanced" idea. But within that year our government has proposed such a plan to the world, a plan in fact that goes much farther. Most of the nations of the world are now supporting it; only Russia is holding out. Even Congress has coöperated to the extent of passing a domestic-control law that would fit in with it.

Listening to the radio discussion the other night—Mutual's American Forum of the Air—I found to my surprise that even isolationist Representative J. Parnell Thomas of New Jersey could not hold out against the logic of the Lilienthal Plan. He tried to at the outset, but was forced by the logic of Representative Clare Booth Luce, Harold Stassen and Irving Langmuir, the noted scientist, to come around.

Thomas finally agreed, when all of his objections had been answered, that we should work for international control, though he still was doubtful that Russia would accept it. That's beside the point. (I happen to believe that eventually even Russia will be forced to accept the logic that has converted J. Parnell Thomas.)

The moral of this story is that the world situation is not as hopeless as we sometimes think. The world is moving—it is making progress. Why, even J. Parnell Thomas is making progress. And I'm sure most of the world is far ahead of him.

Grass-Roots Mission

by Ralph G. Martin

THE TINY Congregational Church in Mission Hill, South Dakota, was filled with people whispering about the new 27-year-old preacher who was going to give his first sermon that morning. Man named Robert Brigham who taught English at nearby Yankton College. Seemed like a smart, serious young man.

They hushed when he stepped up into the pulpit, announced his sermon, "The Dignity of Man":

"We are all guardians of each other's dignity. . . . If you deprive my brother of rights, you so deprive me. . . . If my neighbor has no running water and no electricity, it affects me as much as if he has the measles. People are economically, socially, hygienically, politically, religiously interrelated. . . ."

What kind of minister was this anyway?

"If we want the world to be democratic, then we've got to preach and practise more democracy instead of hypocrisy. . . . In America and in our schools, ideas are duds. They fizzle and go out in the vast, unventilated dampness of our minds. . . ."

Who ever heard of such a thing? Their other preacher used to talk so flowery and poetic. This man's talk was hard and real. Did it belong in a church?

But for the next several weekends, Robert Brigham and his wife and their two children visited the parish members. They talked about crops and children and chitchat, and the parish liked them. Such a nice couple, the people thought, and weren't those two children just the cutest things? And, always, they had something for the new preacher: a side of bacon, a big bag of vegetables, a dressed chicken in a shoebox.

Soon there were funerals, marriages, baptisms. The Brighams became part of Mission Hill.

Then, one day, the townspeople picked up their newspaper which had been running vicious ads against the TVA and the MVA. On the editorial page was a letter to the editor:

"My ancestors came to America in 1630 and I am a minister in the Congregational Church. I don't think that the MVA plan is either Communist or undemocratic."

Mission Hill's party line was busy all day long. . . . "Did you see the preacher's letter in the paper? . . . What do you think? . . ."

Brigham soon gave them even more to think about. At the Ladies' Aid Society, he talked about prejudice: "The reason you're prejudiced is that you don't know." At the Kiwanis, on the Negro problem: "Any man is as good as he proves to be, regardless of anything else."

And one Sunday the preacher walked into the pulpit with a copy of the *New Republic's* Election Supplement and began, "How do you think a good

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Christian feels about the FEPC and the minimum-wage bill and the need for decent housing? Do you know whether your congressman has voted like a good Christian? Well, here's the record. . . ."

Days later when a political canvasser came to get Mrs. Charles Johnson's signature on a petition, she bristled and harrumphed, "I will not sign that petition. Don't you think I know he voted against the OPA?"

When Bob Brigham reactivated the Boy Scouts, the youngsters told him how their fathers were writing letters to their congressmen for the first time; when Mary scrubbed the church floors with the other parish women and they talked about strikes, blind blaming of labor gave way to some intelligent evaluation.

Brigham as Teacher

This was only weekends. Five days a week Brigham taught at Yankton College.

"I've always been able to classify my teachers," remarked one of his students, "but I can't figure out this Brigham. All I know is that he's terrific. Can you imagine a teacher in Freshman English actually trying to make his students think?"

When a banker's son got up and made a hate-speech about the CIO, Brigham made him read all about the CIO and write a term paper on it. Instead of writing about their favorite hobbies, other students were investigating the National Association of Manufacturers, the Ku Klux Klan, Republican Party propaganda. Always there was free discussion, with Brigham constantly prodding. "Now what do we actually know about these things? . . . What are the facts?"

It was after class that they came to him for direction—confused country kids who wanted a point in life, a purpose. They would be social workers, reform politicians, muckrakers, and a lot of them wondered if they could be teachers like him.

This was Robert Irving Brigham's philosophy of education—that teaching should fundamentally be an awakening process, should give the students an awareness of the world in which they lived rather than a mastery of punctuation and the pluperfect tense.

Robert Irving Brigham, A.B., B.S., M.A., M.Ed., Ph.D. in Education, finishing another Ph.D. in English. —this was a different Brigham. No more Brigham the intellectual snob, who could recite Chaucer by the ream and whose ambition was to teach a select class of sensitive students the delicate shades of Spenserian poetry.

Because he met a girl named Mary, a quiet girl with a round, pretty face and a shy smile and a quick, wide-open mind. She poked fun at his classical knowledge, his snobbish plans, and teased, prodded, argued. "Why don't you take Drake's course in American Education and Noyes's Nineteenth Century Thought? You might learn something."

Noyes and Drake drew him out, stirred him. He began to think about subjects like "Are American Schools Free?"; "Mind in the Making"; "Dare the Schools Build a New Order?"

The Making of a Liberal

A footnote in a textbook: Thousands of Missouri children got no schooling because counties wouldn't set up separate schools for one or two Negro children, yet refused to accept them in the public schools.

"Mary, it's so stupidly unfair. . . ."

"Well, why don't you find out more about it?"

Soon he was busy writing his doctorate on the history of Negro education.

When war came and the Army and Navy both turned him down because of bad eyesight, Missouri University offered him a job teaching freshman English at $40 a week. It was enough to get married on.

In one of his classes, a student wondered if she could write about the nearby Negro Lincoln University. "Why, of course. . . ."

When she read her paper in class, another student suggested that it might be a good idea to invite Lincoln University students to a general forum, just to talk and learn about each other.

"Why, of course. . . ."

The forum went over so well, they held others. The students were enthusiastic. But one night Bob came home to Mary:

"I've just been told that if I don't stop holding these forums I'll find myself swinging from a tree with a rope around my neck."

"There's nothing wrong with what you're doing, Bob. You're not going to quit, are you?"

"God, if we can't practise simple democracy at a university, where can we practise it? If they want to lynch me, let them try. If they want to fire me—"

They fired him. One of the university's most respected English teachers wrote a letter to the college paper saying that Brigham was not being fired for incompetence but for personal reasons. The letter was never printed. Students held protest meetings, signed petitions, made speeches. The university sat tight.

There were a dozen young teachers fired that semester. One elderly professor who helped push them out seriously offered some of them jobs writing greeting cards for a company he knew. Bob Brigham was made head of the English department at Yankton.

When Bob and Mary felt they had done all they could at Yankton, they moved on to summer teaching at the University of Kansas City and Bob preached at Grandview. Now he's doing what Mary most wanted him to do—teaching future teachers at Illinois State Normal University. But Mary isn't with him any more. She and her third child died of polio in childbirth. But Mary, who loved people and wanted them to think, to be decent, to fight the good fight, had helped to mold a man.

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"Reconverting" Mexican Americans

by Daniel L. Schorr

San Antonio, Texas

IF THERE'S ANYTHING I hate worse than a Nigger, it's a damn Mexican," said the soldier from south Texas, speaking what he had been taught. This attitude is behind a postwar "reconversion" process in Texas, aimed at depriving Mexican Americans of the few economic and social gains they won during the war and restoring the segregated, underpaid, uneducated pool of cheap labor that south Texas has always sought to maintain. The campaign, in which the authorities, business and the newspapers all play their part, amounts to a conspiracy.

There are about one million Mexican Americans in Texas—out of a total of approximately three million, who form the third largest minority in the United States. They are most densely settled in south Texas and make up about one-third of San Antonio's 300,000 population. For years they have done the sweated work that has helped to make this district rich. During the war the manpower shortage opened a scattering of skilled, occasionally even supervisory, jobs for Mexican Americans. Children left school to go to work. Although there was never more than five percent of the group in wartime industry in Texas, the taste of better living standards brought yearnings for social equality. Now that "reconversion" has set in, these Mexican Americans may not want to return to their former status.

Therein lies a potentially explosive situation. Tension is rising and there has already been some reaction to the mounting repression. In San Antonio's slum-ridden West Side, it is possible to collect a gang of bellicose youngsters by simply promising a fight against Anglo-American kids. The process produces increased repression and threats from the authorities, further heightening the tension.

An incident that has aroused widespread indignation among Mexicans concerns a winner of the Congressional Medal of Honor, Staff Sergeant Macario Garcia. While home on furlough, Garcia stopped for a cup of coffee at the Oasis Café in Sugarland, Fort Bend County, near Houston. The proprietor, Mrs. Donna Andrews, told him no Mexicans were served there. When he insisted on being served, there was a fight between Garcia, aided by two sailors, and customers in the café. A deputy sheriff arrived, told all concerned to forget the incident and sent Garcia home. Later the story was reported in Mexico City and then picked up by the Associated Press and by Walter Winchell. The publicity led the county authorities to seek vindication of their honor. Garcia was belatedly arrested on a charge of "aggravated assault" against Mrs. Andrews.

This was not the first case involving a Congressional Medal winner. Some time before, Sergeant Jose Mendoza Lopez, of Brownsville, after his return from a good-will tour of Mexico, arranged with the coöperation of the United States Army, was thrown out of a restaurant in a small town in the Rio Grande Valley. I have examined dozens of affidavits made by Mexican Americans, testifying to discrimination in south Texas towns.

Social discrimination is no new phenomenon in a state where the defense of the Alamo still gets top billing in school history books and children are taught from the cradle that Mexicans are "dirty," "lazy," "shiftless" and "dishonest." The intensification of pressure, accompanied in some cases by terrorism, makes the Mexican Americans unwilling to accept the situation.

The San Antonio Story

The situation in San Antonio is a story in itself. On the surface there is less discrimination in this city of old Spanish missions than in other parts of southern Texas. Mexican Americans are not segregated in buses, and they can attend public schools with Anglo-Americans (when they are not kept out by action of individual school principals). But it is here that the campaign against the Mexicans has assumed some of its most sinister aspects.

For the past several months local papers have been trumpeting a so-called wave of crime and rape and demanding sterner repressive action. They have played up cases involving Mexicans, while giving little or no publicity to assaults against Latins by Anglo-Americans. In response to newspaper agitation, District Attorney John R. Shook recently announced that the death penalty would hereafter be demanded in "flagrant" cases of rape.

I have made inquiries into some of the rape cases which received prominent newspaper attention. In most of them, the girls involved seemed to be professional or amateur prostitutes. Yet the local press had no scruples about giving the impression that no girl was

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safe from attack. Some of the Mexican boys held on rape charges by the District Attorney's office were juveniles, and the County Juvenile Office had to resort to habeas-corpus proceedings to obtain custody of them. Attacks by Mexicans on Anglo-Americans have drawn some stiff sentences. Yet within a two-week period last fall four juries—three in the Criminal District Court and one in the Juvenile Court—acquitted Anglo-Americans accused of killing Latins. The papers took no notice of these cases.

One such case created near-despair among social workers trying to deal with the juvenile-delinquency situation. In a racial gang fight on Labor Day, 1945, on North Flores Street, 15-year-old Kelly Adams fired a pistol and killed 15-year-old Jesus Garcia. Young Adams was released in his parents' custody. At a hearing before the Juvenile Court, the Juvenile Office recommended that he be adjudged delinquent. The defense asked a jury trial. After less than 20 minutes' deliberation, an Anglo-American jury freed Adams, although he admitted possession of the pistol and admitted firing it. There was no mention of the case in the press—except in the Mexican papers.

The fatal incident climaxed a series of racial gang fights of which the authorities had been aware. A Latin American social worker had warned weeks before that "someone will be killed" unless measures were taken to check the growing tension. On one occasion a juvenile officer disarmed a gang of Anglo-American boys of clubs, pipes, brass-knuckles and other weapons and turned them over to a special officer, only to see him return them to the boys.

It is true that juvenile delinquency is mounting in San Antonio. It is also true that most of these cases involve Mexicans. But the local juvenile officer, Mrs. Dora Davenport, told me that among the causes of delinquency were race prejudice and retaliation, jealousy and inter-racial fear. It also appears that the high Mexican ratio is at least partly due to the fact that the police are much more likely to arrest Latin Americans than Anglo-Americans.

The Toll of Bigotry

The Mexican American's economic frontiers, which were widened somewhat during the war, are beginning to close in on him. The regional office of the Fair Employment Practice Commission closed in December. When war industries began laying off men, Mexican Americans were among the first to go. Frequently this is justified on a basis of seniority, which is another way of saying that previous discrimination makes new discrimination unnecessary; Mexican Americans were usually the last to be hired. It is expected that Help Wanted advertisements for skilled or responsible jobs will soon be carrying the note, "No Mexicans Need Apply." An FEPC official who had dealt with anti-Mexican discrimination during the war told me: "I don't think the Latin Americans will accept this situation. They can be trodden on just so long."

One of the best indices of poverty is disease. San Antonio's festering slums have made it possible for this city of charm and gayety to claim the highest tuberculosis rate of any city in the country, with 151.7 deaths per hundred thousand, as against 113.7 for Chattanooga, its nearest rival. The Mexican death-toll percentage is more than three times the Anglo-American.

But nothing much is being done about it by the local authorities. The Bexar County Tuberculosis Association says 1,200 hospital beds are needed to cope with the problem. The county actually has 139. A tuberculosis specialist, who was appalled at the situation he found when he returned from the Army, told me he had been informed that funds existed to provide additional facilities, but that they were mysteriously tied up in bonds and could not be pried loose.

Every attempt to check anti-Mexican discrimination has been blocked. A bill to outlaw discrimination, introduced in the legislature by Senator J. Franklin Spears of San Antonio, has been defeated at three sessions. During the war Texan bigotry and economic discrimination fought a holding action. Now a counter-offensive is taking shape to wrest from the Mexican Americans their economic and social gains. But bitterness at this "reconversion" is growing and will not long be contained.

How the Mexican Americans feel about the racial antagonism in the Southwest is shown in the cartoon above, published in *Fraternidad*, organ of the Mexican Committee against Racism. The cartoon illustrates the incident described by Mr. Schorr—the beating of Staff Sergeant Garcia, winner of the Congressional Medal of Honor.

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Letter from Tokyo—What Is the Council?

TOKYO's most curious spectacle these days is any meeting of the Four-Power Allied Council for Japan. That nebulous body—whose strictly "advisory" capacity was heavily underlined by General MacArthur at its inaugural meeting last April—has been dubbed a "four-ring circus." This is unkind, for the Allied Council is merely a microcosm of the world game of power politics.

The main charges that can justly be made against the Allied Council are, first, that the sight of the world's two greatest powers wrangling in a schoolboyish "Yah, you're another" manner is undignified, and, second, that Ambassador George Atcheson Jr., chairman and United States member, seems on occasion to forget that the American eagle traditionally carries an olive branch in one claw.

Four men—representing the United States, the British Empire, Soviet Russia and China—sit at the highly polished table in the elegantly sober room in Tokyo's Meiji Building where the Council meets. But two men set the pace—Ambassador Atcheson of the United States and General Kuzma Derevyanko of the USSR. Ambassador Atcheson is an accomplished Russia-baiter, who manages—not very subtly—to convey the impression he just doesn't give a damn; General Derevyanko is no slouch at handing out verbal left hooks with a smile. Listening to their dueling, one seeks in vain for any sign of the "good will, mutual understanding and broad tolerance" for which General MacArthur appealed at the Council's first meeting.

The real puzzle is just what the Allied Council was supposed to accomplish. What it was *not* intended to do was succinctly outlined by Brigadier General Whitney at its second meeting, when he informed its members that "the Council is not set up for the purpose of prying into the affairs of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, attempting to find some weak point in SCAP armor, probing for something by which to create national sensationalism. The Council is here for the purpose of constructive assistance only. . . ."

Among the issues considered by SCAP of sufficient importance to seek the assistance of the Council have been the rehabilitation of Japan's transportation system; the future of her fishing and aquatic industries; plans for the exchange of students; patent and copyright practices; measures to develop the tourist industry; dissolution of the Japan Lumber Company, Ltd., and measures concerned with the quarantine of small vessels.

Upon the last-named subjects being raised, Mr. W. M. Ball, the member representing the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand and India, complained that such technical questions were scarcely of the type to be placed before the Council. When, on the other hand, General Derevyanko submitted 22 recommendations concerning labor and labor relations, Ambassador Atcheson dismissed them with the statement that "In the light of all the circumstances surrounding them, these recommendations have a color which we have seen before. I regret to have to say it, but there is readily discernible here the familiar signmarks of propaganda. I very much regret that any issue involving communism or Communistic influence in Japan has again risen before us."

To which the British member replied that he had difficulty in seeing the signs of Communist propaganda in the recommendations of the Soviet member, and that to him the recommendations made up quite a conservative document. This was by no means the only occasion when the British and Chinese representatives have found themselves, to their own visible astonishment, driven by Atcheson's attitude to support the Russian member of the Council.

Well might the British member remark—at the twelfth meeting!—that he still found it "very hard to envisage what kind of work the Council is supposed to do." The answer would appear to be that the Council was designed as a handy means of steering the lightning of inquiry and possible criticism away from General MacArthur's rule of occupied Japan. It's a dandy recipe and Atcheson is applying it with the easy confidence of a man who knows he has complete support from higher up.

The Industrialists Bide Their Time

"The recent 'unpleasantness' is happily over. Japan had an excellent record for financial probity in her international financial dealings before the war. She was a lucrative customer both of the United States and Britain and is willing to be again. So what are we waiting for?"

The speaker was a typical Tokyo industrialist and he was expressing the typical point of view of his class which is being stated with increasing boldness in Japan these days.

How has this fantastic state of mind come about? One obvious reason is the widespread tendency to link the fortunes of Japan with those of General MacArthur. Then there is the friendly atmosphere of the Allied occupation. The American troops are affectionately referred to as "the visitors," and the occupation has come to be symbolized in the Japanese consciousness by a GI feeding candy to a Japanese child or jitterbugging with the local lovelies.

Again, Japan has been isolated for a decade from world opinion by a soundproof curtain of censorship. Today only a handful of Japanese realize the depth of detestation aroused in the United States by brutalities perpetrated by their military forces. Thus the average Japanese, measuring world opinion by the only yardstick at his command—the friendliness of our troops—sees nothing incongruous in hoping for early American financial and trade assistance.

There is another reason. The survivors among the bankers and industrialists know that close association with American and British investors represents their best chance to retain their position. Without waiting for the evolution of a genuinely democratic Japanese government, they are launching a campaign designed to gain friends in American commercial circles by the hope of profits—and incidentally to entrench themselves so securely that no future "leftist" government at Tokyo could afford to dispossess them. All of which adds up to nothing less than a bold, impudent bid

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on the part of Japan's lesser Zaibatsu to escape any penalty for the crimes which they aided and abetted, plus a cunningly baited invitation to American big business to "come on in and share the profits."

The Communists Wait for Tomorrow

Sanzo Nosaka, Japanese Communist leader in the Diet, has the quietly reflective eyes of an intelligent dreamer and dresses with the care of an American business executive. Talking with this youthful man, with carefully brush d black hair streaked with gray and the deferential bedside manner of a family physician, there is no hint of the sixteen years in exile or of the fact he is a graduate of the Moscow school of political science and went to Yenan to become one of the most famous underground fighters in East Asia.

Nosaka is significant because in a nation where political leadership is still largely adolescent, he has an adult mind and a precisely trained political intellect. Hhe plans every move with the methodical care of a chess player. High stakes do not frighten him any more than does the thought of unpopularity or opposition. This helps to explain the prominent position, transcending the number of his followers, which he occupies in the Japanese political scene.

Nosaka isn't interested in yesterday or today—only tomorrow. In other words, he thinks tomorrow in Japan is going to be "interesting, important and complicated from every point of view."

"I cannot be optimistic about the prospects of this second year of the occupation because the reactionary forces in Japan are on the offensive to check the radical movement," he told me the other day. "Premier Yoshida has decided his government—essentially conservative—can count on the support of SCAP, and he is now confident.

"At the same time I can feel a strong stirring among the Japanese people. The resultant tug between conservative and radical elements will become steadily more tense. This second year may well decide whether the old feudalism or the new democracy will take control of Japan. I am convinced that right now a coalition government composed of Socialists and Communists should replace the Yoshida cabinet as the administration that would be most closely in line with the wishes of the majority of the Japanese people."

Although he leads a party holding six seats out of 468 in the Lower House, Nosaka is bravely confident. He is worth watching. The little former exile in the neat blue suit is a smooth expert at his own game.

Notes: From a Tokyo United Press dispatch: "MacArthur's attitude toward the Japanese is that of father toward child." Precisely! . . . "Tragedy of Japan," SCAP-approved film version of the years of aggression, completed recently, was boycotted by the leading Tokyo movie houses. The Japanese producer eventually received Japanese government instructions to withdraw the film and turn in all copies to the authorities. . . .

Tokyo, Japan HESSELL TILTMAN

Hessell Tiltman covered the Orient before the Pacific war and served as a war correspondent in China in 1937 and '38. He is the author of several books on the Far East, and has been in Japan since last December.

Caper of the Week

The latest in the weekly succession of Hollywood bullet orgies is Mark Hellinger's production, "The Killers," a powerful movie without a relaxing moment. It is concerned with Pittsburgh gunmen and is predominantly a matter of shocking events in great number—avarice, homicide, gunmen being searched for rods, killers being stalked by detectives and rival crooks—with a minimum of concern for personalities. More than other recent blood-bath films, this one pounds home how tenaciously and relentlessly crooks and the people associated with them—insurance investigators, cops, sweethearts—pursue their jobs. Besides its brutality, it has the noise, the jagged, tormenting movement of keyed-up, tough, flashy humanity that you get from a walk through Times Square.

The story, using flashbacks with the abandon and effectiveness that its gunmen use bullets, shows the tortuous route of an insurance sleuth (played in a stiff, breathless way by Edmund O'Brien) investigating the killing of an ex-pug called Swede (Burt Lancaster). Starting with his provoking murder (he is so hopeless about escaping that he waits in his room for the gunmen to get him) by a pair of professional killers who wear heavy overcoats and act as if they had been fed rivets for baby food, flashbacks then show Swede to have lived an exciting life, but one of practically continuous misfortune. In his last prize fight he catches punches that seem like mule kicks, and smashes his hand beyond repair. After that he falls for an icy gun-moll (Ava Gardner), takes a three-year rap to cover up her robbery of an ugly costume jewel, joins a gang that is planning a hat-factory holdup to be near his sweetheart, is double-crossed out of his share of the loot and then murdered.

While there are more tinny notes in this Universal production than in theatre swing bands, Swede is a fascinating, unstereotyped movie tough. He has a dreamy, peaceful, introspective air that dissociates him from everything earthly. This detachment, which gives one the feeling that he's as little concerned with the morals of people as he is with the people themselves, makes him seem capable of any brutality. Lancaster, a hefty actor from the Broadway stage, does an excellent, quiet job that turns Swede into a singularly provocative character. With an almost too polished skill and without losing the basic detachment of the part, he changes Swede's manner to blend with every change of occupation. As a pug he is slow-minded; as an affluent numbers racketeer he is hale, hearty and Broadwayish; as a grease monkey he is something else again.

The underworld people in "The Killers" seem to have been riding subways, scheming, going to prize fights from infancy. The most powerful gangster is "Dum-Dum" (Jack Lambert), who reminds you of Dick Tracy characters (he is four stories high and all muscle, dog-faced, uses a long cigarette holder, and it appears inconceivable that the investigator could hold him off with a small revolver, as he does in one scene). This is a surprising film for perfectly cast Scandinavian types. Besides "Dum-Dum," there are a very foreign maid (Queenie Smith) in an Atlantic City rooming house, Swede's

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first sweetheart (Gabrielle Windsor) and Swede himself.

Though there is a cheapness about "The Killers" that reminds you of five-and-ten jewelry, its scenes of sadism and menacing action have been formed and filled with a vitality all too rare in current movies. It is a production that is suspense-ridden and exciting down to tiny details in the background. The stolid documentary style; the gaudy melodramatic flavor; the artiness (most noticeable in the way scenes are sculpted in dark and light) are largely due to Director Robert Siodmak, who has made German movies as well as Universal thrillers.

MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

The Negro workers were demanding a daily wage of $2 instead of 50 cents, but now they have returned to work unconditionally since they are all on contract "voluntarily entered into."—*From a story about a South African gold-mine strike in the New York* Times.

At a press interview, Vivian Cox, assistant to the United States member of the Allied military directorate in charge, told the reporters that the literature proposal [to confiscate all books in Germany which glorify Nazism or militarism] had been submitted by the French. . . . Since the instructions constitute a directive and not a law, Miss Cox explained that it was not necessary to specify the items under the ban. Only books of German authorship and about German militarism are involved. Books glorifying the militarism of other countries will still be available.—*From* Publishers' Weekly.

"Lesser Breeds without the Law"

Official quarters said the whole policy of bombing rebellious natives which has been a long-standing British practice in Waziristan and other remote regions along the Northwest Frontier, might be reconsidered in order to devise more satisfactory methods of disciplining rebellious tribesmen. (In London the India Office said that bombing of natives was regarded "as the simplest form of retaliation." A spokesman said adequate notice was always given to the villages.)—*UP dispatch from New Delhi.*

Silver-Lining Department

Because the atomic bomb is a super-weapon it does not follow that we must hold that it means the extinction of civilization. It could mean shorter wars and wars less destructive to our civilization.—*Statement by Colonel Bradley Dewey, president of the American Chemical Society, as reported in the New York* Times.

There's Good News Tonight

The death of Stalin or a people's revolution in Russia should make the stock market boom. Moreover, it is very probable that the Allies are now planning and encouraging a Russian revolution. This is the reason for the "iron curtain" and the desire of the Russians to tie up the Danube River and Balkan states. It explains why our flyers were shot down.—*Roger W. Babson in his syndicated column.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.*—THE EDITORS

Correspondence

How They Beat Bowles at Hartford

SIR: Chester Bowles lost at Hartford. He lost—and this is the real reason—because the delegates sized him up and decided that although they thought he was probably a first-rate fellow, they would rather have Snow as their candidate. Oh, the bosses ganged up on Bowles, but not in any cutthroatedly efficient fashion. There was a business of putting up favorite sons to keep Bowles from getting a majority on the first ballot; but if he had got the majority they would have backed him.

He lost the nomination on Monday afternoon, the day before the voting. The candidates had set up headquarters along Asylum Street in Hartford: Snow and Dodd at the Bond, which is the biggest hotel, and Bowles a few doors away at the Hotel Garde. He came into the real campaign too late to rent headquarters at the Bond; that was his first mistake. The second mistake was that his campaign was being run by amateurs. The crowd went to his headquarters first, sampled his excellent liquor, nibbled at or wolfed his sandwiches, then found that there was nobody to talk to, yes, nobody. Bowles himself appeared, with a nice shy smile and a firm handshake, but after having smiled and shaken hands, he had nothing to say. The crowd drifted over to the Bond, went into the Snow headquarters, sampled his liquor, ate his sandwiches and were buttonholed and pledged by Snow himself. By eight o'clock that evening, I think the outcome had been determined.

The delegates figured this way: Snow is our sort; he's campaigned at one time or another in every one of the I think it is 167 Connecticut towns, including Bozrah; while Bowles is a nice guy, but an outsider, and some people will vote against him on account of the OPA. In the background there were dickers for delegates—probably if Bowles had been nice to the Hartford bosses or promised the lieutenant-governorship to the mayor of Waterbury, he still could have been nominated.

On the floor of the convention, Bowles had another piece of bad luck. All his strength was concentrated in the big towns of the 3rd and 4th Congressional Districts. But the roll was called beginning with the little towns of the 1st and 2nd Districts, where Bowles had practically no strength at all. Halfway through the rollcall it looked like a landslide for Snow, which it wasn't. That's the story. The lucky thing for us Connecticut Democrats is that we got a candidate as good as Wilbert Snow, as intelligent and as liberal. It's one of the few times on record when the party bosses and small politicians went down the line for a liberal college professor.

Hartford, Conn. M. C.

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Troy Garrison of Los Angeles objects to Colonel Dupuy's description of the Filipino ("The War Books Go On," the *New Republic*, September 9) as the "sometimes lovable, sometimes exasperating, always childish 'little brown brother'." Mr. Garrison cites the record of the Filipino guerrillas and of the Huks today as something more than childish, and as proving that the Filipino "has the stature to outpace tyranny and treachery and overtake the other democratic peoples."

Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio, sends us word of a conference on the heritage of the English-speaking peoples, to be held at Gambier October 4, 5 and 6. The conference will consider some of the achievements of the English-speaking peoples and their responsibilities in keeping the peace.

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Books in Review

Brandeis in Perspective[1]

PRESIDENT WILSON'S nomination of Louis D. Brandeis to an Associate Justiceship of the Supreme Court in 1916 evoked opposition of unrestrained bitterness and intensity. When Mr. Justice Brandeis died on October 5, 1941, the outburst was of a totally different kind. Editorials in the conservative press competed with those of the liberal journals of opinion in their praise of the Justice as a great democrat, a true liberal, a guardian of constitutional rights. The contrast between the two expressions of opinion is both striking and significant.

A statement signed by six of the living ex-presidents of the American Bar Association, among them former President Taft, protesting the nomination, had been preceded by one signed by sixty respectable Bostonian lawyers, bankers and businessmen. These men of affairs did not oppose Brandeis' appointment because he was poor or unsuccessful. By 1916 he had an invested fortune of two million dollars, all of it the result of his own extremely lucrative practice. But this extraordinarily able lawyer whose practice was for many years almost entirely with business corporations had, about twenty years earlier, developed an acute social consciousness, and had thereafter participated, usually as unpaid counsel, in a variety of reformist causes.

Brandeis' opponents charged that he had been guilty of unethical practice, of sharp dealing, that he was lacking in the judicial temperament. His friends replied that he was not only one of the ablest lawyers in the country (in a letter addressed to the chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, President Wilson reminded them that "in the opinion of the late Mr. Chief Justice Fuller he was the ablest man who ever appeared before the Supreme Court of the United States") but a man devoted to the practice as well as to the principles of democracy, one who had made his enemies as a result of his fights in behalf of the people and against the interests which were now striking back. His nomination was confirmed by the Senate in an almost straight-party vote more than four months after it had been submitted.

In the nineties Brandeis had come as a powerful ally to the reform causes of that day. Virtually all of the able and successful lawyers were on the other side. He was a master of corporate finance as well as of the law, and he employed that capacity in his fight in Boston to keep municipal control of the transportation system, to obtain cheaper gas rates, to develop a system of savings-bank insurance and to prevent a monopoly over railroad transportation in New England by the New Haven Railroad.

Perhaps the best known of his public controversies was the one in which he served as attorney for Glavis and Pinchot in the Alaskan conservation fight which did so much to undermine confidence in the Taft Administration. In recent years Ickes and others have raised doubts whether Brandeis was on the right side in that controversy. Probably he was. At any rate his present biographer believes so, but it may be more to the point to note that in this controversy he demonstrated, as one of his supporters in the Senate, Thomas J. Walsh, remarked, that he was an uncompromising fighter, one who found it difficult to admit that either the motives or the cause of his antagonists could be other than bad. His opponents were not often to be found later among his circle of friends or supporters.

It was in these same years that Brandeis developed his hatred for bigness in business. To his mind the huge corporation was not the supreme achievement in efficiency, but an actual detriment both to efficiency and to democracy. His faith in democracy, industrial as well as political, is part of the explanation; his belief in the limitations of human beings to deal with such vast problems and to be trusted with so much power, is at least as important. His distrust of the growth of corporate size and power is perhaps comparable to Jefferson's early hatred of industrialism, but where Jefferson came to realize that industrialism was inevitable and even desirable in America, despite its evils, Brandeis apparently never wavered in his allegiance to the dream of a return to small enterprise and decentralized government. He found his ideal in the small-scale enterprise, the coöperatives and the folk schools of Denmark. Unhappily, in America his vision seems to bear little relation to the trends of a century in which invention, technology and international rivalry are producing concentration of power rather than decentralization.

INDEED, in some respects Brandeis' social principles belong more to the nineteenth century than to the twentieth. If he appeared to his opponents in 1916 as a radical and as opposed to the American way of life, he appeared in what was perhaps a more accurate perspective to many men of 1941 as a true defender of the old faith, a faith which goes back to the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and to the forerunners of Woodrow Wilson's *New Freedom*. As one eminent judge said in an address memorializing Brandeis, he was not an exponent of the New Deal, and he could not be charged with the heresies of some of the Roosevelt appointees to the Supreme Court. To be sure, he had advocated something like the Securities Act twenty years before it became a law, but much of the centralization and many of the controls of the New Deal seemed less acceptable to him than they have to the nominees of the Republican Party in the last two presidential elections.

Brandeis was a liberal or progressive, if not a radical, on the Supreme Court of his day; but then his period, except for the last two years (he retired in 1939), was one of the most conservative in Supreme Court history. Four of its members were still voting the McKinley ticket. Eleven years before Brandeis went to the Court, Holmes, in the famous Lochner dissent, had enunciated a more

[1] Brandeis: A Free Man's Life, by Alpheus Thomas Mason. The Viking Press. 713 pages. $5.

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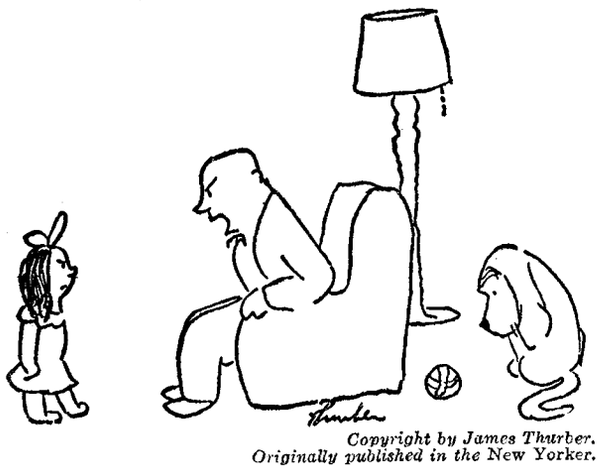
truly radical theory of judicial review than that reflected in the Brandeis factual brief or in Brandeis' opinions. It seems probable that the long-run influence of Mr. Justice Holmes, conservative skeptic though he was, will be not only greater, but more permanently on the liberal or progressive side than that of Mr. Justice Brandeis. Brandeis was no more detached and nonpartisan than was Mr. Justice Sutherland. Both had social and legal views which they wished to see adopted, but Brandeis reflected a point of view which was at least a generation nearer to the needs of the times than that of Sutherland.

IT WAS Holmes who characterized him as "a really good man, and a great judge." He was both, and almost certainly he will appear, if the language of the football season may be used, on the all-time Supreme Court team. His very great capacities, the clarity of mind which, as President Wilson once said after a conversation with Brandeis, always had the effect with him of sweeping the cobwebs from his mind, combined with his burning devotion to what is best in the American tradition, would seem to assure him of a place in such a gathering. But as some of his admirers—and they are both many and devoted—have pointed out, Brandeis was doubtful of broad generalizations and of abstract ideas. There were two notable exceptions. He accepted, without the searching analysis that he gave to lesser issues, the principles of liberal democracy and the cause of Zionism. The latter was the only cause for which he would break the self-imposed rule during his years on the Court of never participating in public affairs other than those essentially involved in his judicial duties. These might be said to be his two great acts of faith. He was not, however, a philosopher, even as we might use that term in applying it to Jefferson, to Madison, to Marshall or to Holmes. His genius was different from theirs and it seems to me of a slightly lesser order. That he was a creative thinker is manifested by his principles of public-utility evaluation, the "Brandeis brief" and his scheme of savings-bank insurance. In these, as in other activities, his work was both admirable and socially valuable, and any one of them would be enough to assure an ordinarily successful leader of the bar a place in history. Brandeis is to be compared with the few great, not with the many competent, but his creativeness dealt with the interstices rather than with the general scheme of things.



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"Why don't you wait and see what becomes of your own generation before you jump on mine?"

It is, of course, too soon to form more than the most tentative evaluation, but I am inclined to suspect that fifty years from now Brandeis will rank in Court history not with Marshall, Holmes and Taney, but with the very next group, one which deserves extremely well of its countrymen, one which is distinguished both by unusual ability and by significant contributions to the developemnt of constitutional law. It is also too soon, in dealing with a figure of his stature, for a biography to be final or in any sense definitive. Professor Mason, who has devoted most of fifteen years to the study of Brandeis—this is his fourth book on his subject's life and work—has written what is clearly the most satisfactory and enlightening book that we have. It is particularly useful on Brandeis' career before he went to the Supreme Court, less so on his judicial career. Professor Mason had access to family letters and documents, and although some of them could not be used, enough have been printed and paraphrased to give us a far clearer picture than we had before of the "people's attorney." Some other collections of letters from Brandeis were apparently not available, but on the whole the book is both adequate and balanced, and as satisfactory a life as one could expect to have been written within five years of his death.

BENJAMIN F. WRIGHT

The World's Problem People

The German People: Their History and Civilization from the Holy Roman Empire to the Third Reich, by Veit Valentin. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 730 pages. $6.

MR. VALENTIN has written a book which belongs in the same category as Seignobos' classical compact history of the French people. Since German history is much harder to understand and hence harder to write than French history, this is an achievement. A masterpiece of condensation, the work does not confine itself, as other recently published one-volume histories of Germany have done, to the political scene, but takes into account religious, philosophical and artistic developments.

His new book has all the advantages of the author's earlier writings: scholarship without the arrogant tone of expertness; the ability to trace in a few deft lines the striking features of a historical personality. But Mr. Valentin has enormously gained in clarity of expression and maturity of judgment. (It is probably no accident that, with one exception, none of his numerous previous books has been translated into English: they were rather indigestible for non-German readers.)

Mr. Valentin has no master thesis or "general line." After describing in an introductory chapter the basic problems of German history mainly—and perhaps too exclusively—in geographic terms, his narrative moves on without much consideration of the progressively widening gulf between Germany and the rest of Western civilization. He makes no attempt to assess the consequences of the fact that, from the Peasants' War on, German revolutions have essentially failed. Hence one is hardly prepared for his attempt, in the concluding chapter, at defining the national character as formed by geographical, historical, racial and social factors. However, the typical components of the German mentality are adroitly and correctly

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laid down without undue generalization or amateurish recourse to psychiatry.

The book contains several statements which this reviewer considers inaccurate. Mr. Valentin's main interest has always centered on the political and intellectual history of periods in which the German middle classes were prominent, or tried to become prominent. The labor movement and certain aspects of social history (for instance the true significance of Bismarck's social legislation or the impact of the anti-socialist laws on the development of the Social-Democratic Party) are treated with somewhat less understanding, and it is not astonishing that the inaccuracies increase when the author has to deal with the intricacies of party developments, during the Weimar Republic. Of the many excellent chronologies and tables enriching the book, the confusing "Pedigree of German Parties" would better have been omitted altogether.

Mr. Valentin's concluding pages should be taken to heart by all Allied officials and educators concerned with the reëducation of Germany:

> No reasonable person is going to try to wean the Germans from being German. . . . It is part of the wisdom of all good education to take a character as it has been shaped by God and nature. It is possible to reform it, but not to transform it: it is possible to develop the good and suppress the evil, or rather to develop the good in the evil, and to modulate the pupil by an appeal to the instincts of self-preservation and sociability. . . . The discarded values of German culture need a new emphasis: they alone can effect a reorientation of the German spirit. No inward regeneration is possible without a ruthless analysis of the German national character. This will be best accomplished by the Germans themselves. Germany must be reëducated, or rather she must be shown how to reëducate herself.

Since Mr. Valentin's analysis of events, from the death of Charles the Great to Hitler's suicide, can greatly help in so vast a task, it is to be hoped that this book about the German people will soon be made available to them.

HENRY W. EHRMANN

A Stage in a Journey

The Great Challenge, by Louis Fischer. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 346 pages. $4.

ALTHOUGH the major part of this book deals with Russia, its most absorbing portions concern other subjects. Fischer is a talented liberal journalist who put his convictions to the test when he became the first American to join the Spanish Loyalist International Brigade. His reflections on a wartime trip to England, Palestine and India show the sensitivity, perception and the "long view" which he brings to most of his appraisals. Particularly fresh are his judgments on Churchill, Bevin, Gandhi, Jinnah and other world figures, while his analysis of the Moslem-Hindu cleavage cuts cleanly through the thicket of a highly involved situation.

The Great Challenge is primarily a discussion of the nature of Soviet dynamics, domestic and foreign. Fischer's detailed indictment of Russia is essentially a restatement of what he and other outspoken critics have said before. While he writes too engagingly ever to be really dull, his charges that the regime is a betrayal of the revolution and a dictatorship which rules by compulsion from above, that the standard of living remains abysmally low, that the former glorification of the common man has passed to a deification of Stalin and the creation of an elite of party bureaucrats, military officers and intellectuals willing to provide "the circuses and propaganda," and so on down to the Nazi-Soviet pact and the Moscow trials—these charges are but old wine in a new bottle. Also, it should be noted, they are made with such bland assurance that in these days of troubled uncertainty the effect on the reader is doubly sedative.

Probably because of the urgency of Soviet-American relations today, Fischer's analysis of Russia's foreign affairs makes for more engrossing reading, although one must disagree with some of his conclusions. Roughly his thesis is that Stalin, to divert his people from pondering his failure to gratify their material needs, has exchanged his former policy of internationalism for the more alluring ones of nationalism and imperialism. The latter have found expression in the bolshevization of Poland, the Baltic states and the Balkans as well as in territorial and ideological penetration elsewhere in Europe and the Far East. Churchill and Roosevelt were forced to underwrite this policy to keep Stalin from signing a separate peace with the enemy. Russia's expansion constitutes the world's major problem—if not checked, it will lead to war.

It is possible to share Fischer's concern with Soviet dynamism in Eastern Europe, even though Roosevelt and Churchill, realists both, recognized that this area is legitimately as much within the sphere of Russian interest as Greece is within the British or Japan is within our own.

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Liberals can also join in his alarm at other manifestations, such as the Soviet rapprochement with Argentina, its attitude on Palestine and the Near East, its confiscation of Jewish property in Austria and its truculence in the UN. All these—and more—are still a far cry from the author's categorical statement that Russian nationalism is the biggest threat to world peace. It is submitted that a more constructive conclusion is that the nationalism of Russia, England and America alike constitute a collective threat. Fischer would be more faithful to his expressed credo of "double rejection" of imperialism in *every* quarter if his dossier embraced Whitehall and Washington in more equitable proportion. That dossier should properly include a score sheet on the repeated attempts by the other powers to isolate the Soviet Union and, by territorial acquisition, to make it vulnerable to attack by powerful neighbors.

Fischer says that Russia has exchanged Karl Marx for Peter the Great. That may be the case—certainly it appears that somewhere along the line Marx has come in for rough handling. Fischer, of course, would not exchange Roosevelt for, say, the fire-eating Colonel McCormick, but there are implications that are dangerous to peace in his thinking. His suggestion for closer collaboration between Britain and the United States and for a world organization with or without Russia would divide One World into two, a division which will lead to war. Fischer's dictum that the peace of the world "depends on a steady job at a living wage for all workers, land that yields a livelihood to all farmers, liberty for all individuals of all races and classes, and independence for all countries," is true; but until that happy condition is achieved, America and Russia, the two colossi, must learn to live in harmony. This involves mutual concessions, perhaps—Fischer to the contrary notwithstanding—equally heavy ones on both sides.

HARVEY J. BRESLER

Britain Shapes a New World

Coming in next week's New Republic: a special 9,000-word report on the achievements of the British Labor Government up to date and its hopes and plans for the future.

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The Book Clubs

AMERICA's major book clubs, the Literary Guild and the Book-of-the-Month Club, are celebrating their twenty-fifth and twentieth anniversaries respectively this year. In this quarter of a century they, along with a score of other clubs, have built up a combined membership of more than 3.5 million. They will distribute this year in paid copies, dividends and bonuses 75 million books, or approximately one book for every two people in the United States. They will give upwards of $40,000 to each of about 20 authors who had the good fortune to have their books chosen by them.

The Literary Guild, with 1.25 million members, is the largest of all the clubs. About half, or slightly less, of its membership can be counted upon to take each monthly selection. More than half a million of these members subscribe to the Guild through retail stores, mainly the book departments of large department stores. An analysis of the 600,000 mail-order members indicates that 176,000 live in towns of under 5,000; 134,000 in towns up to 25,000; and 289,000 in cities of more than 25,000 population.

The Book-of-the-Month Club, with 925,000 members, counts on about 450,000 to take each monthly selection. It offers subscriptions through more than 500 retail stores all over the country. It estimates that every book sent out is read by at least three people—an average of 1.5 million readers for each monthly choice. This club pays the publishers about 30 cents a copy to lease the plates, but prints and binds the books itself. Half of this 30 cents goes to the author, who may make as much as $50,000 for one book. Selection by the Book-of-the-Month (or any club) also stimulates retail sales.

Doubleday's Dollar Book Club, with 700,000 members, shares the great mail-order public of Montgomery, Ward, whose catalogues advertise its selections. It specializes in reprints of recent best-sellers and for the most part serves rural areas.

The People's Book Club, backed by Simon and Schuster, is advertised in the more than 28 million Sears, Roebuck annual catalogues. This club, with upwards of 300,000 members, is guided by its membership in the selection of books. In 1945 it sent about 250 books to 10,000 club members whose reports determined selection. The success of the method may be measured by the fact that a high percentage of the membership takes each choice. About 80 percent are women living in small towns and the books chosen reflect this fact.

The Book Find Club, with about 70,000 members, counts on a monthly reader acceptance of as high as 60,000. This is due to the club's selection of timely, controversial books, many of them non-fiction. Other clubs, such as the Detective Book Club, Science Book Club, Catholic Book Club, etc., appeal to specific tastes and markets. New book clubs are constantly being formed. Latest comers are a Teen-Age Book Club, sponsored by Pocket

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Books, Inc.; a Negro Book Club; and a Science Book Club, which took over the 20-year-old Scientific Book Club and is controlled by Henry Holt and Company. These clubs promise to offer their first lists this month.

All the book clubs go in for heavy advertising. In 1945 the Literary Guild spent $400,000 on newspaper advertising alone; the Book-of-the-Month Club spent $145,000; the Detective Book Club $400,000; the Book League $250,000; and the Dollar Book Club $120,000. Two or three times the total amount of $1.5 million went into magazine and direct-mail promotion. The Book-of-the-Month Club sponsors two radio programs—"The Author Meets the Critics" and "Let's Go to the Opera"—and sends out fifteen-minute radio scripts to several hundred stations each month, giving digests of four current books, not necessarily club selections. The Literary Guild, which sponsors the radio program "Books on Trial," spent, in addition to newspaper advertising, $450,000 in retail-store promotion last year.

The building up of regular book-buying habits is one of the principal achievements of the book clubs. The other main contribution is reaching by mail those who find it impossible to buy books in their own communities. The earlier fear that book clubs would take business away from retail book stores has proved groundless. But against the quantitative factors stands the sorry record of the quality of the selections. Not that they are necessarily below the average of American publishing as a whole; indeed, the Book-of-the-Month Club's selections range well above that average. A glance at the following selections of the three largest book clubs for the current year suggests that, with the exception of a few books of some literary or informational value, the reading diet of their members is neither rich nor nourishing.

Book-of-the-Month Club

Brideshead Revisited, by Evelyn Waugh
Arch of Triumph, by Erich Maria Remarque
The Autobiography of William Allen White, edited by W. L. White
The Snake Pit, by Mary Jane Ward
Man-Eaters of Kumaon, by Jim Corbett
My Three Years with Eisenhower, by Harry C. Butcher
The Hucksters, by Frederic Wakeman
Britannia Mews, by Margery Sharp
Independent People, by Halldor Laxness
The Sudden Guest, by Christopher LaFarge
Animal Farm, by George Orwell
Mrs. Masham's Repose, by T. H. White
Thunder out of China, by Theodore White and Annalee Jacoby
Balzac, by Stefan Zweig

Literary Guild

The King's General, by Daphne du Maurier
Those Other People, by Mary King O'Donnell
David the King, by Gladys Schmitt
Wake of the Red Witch, by Garland Roark
This Side of Innocence, by Taylor Caldwell
Then and Now, by Somerset Maugham
Singing Waters, by Ann Bridge
The American, by Howard Fast
The Dark Wood, by Christine Weston
Lord Hornblower, by C. S. Forester
B. F.'s Daughter, by John P. Marquand
Pavilion of Women, by Pearl Buck

Dollar Book Club

The Peacock Sheds His Tail, by Alice Tisdale Hobart
The Marriage of Josephine, by Marjorie Coryn
The Yellow Room, by Mary Roberts Rinehart
Before the Sun Goes Down, by Elizabeth Metzger Howard
The River Road, by Francis Parkinson Keyes
The Foxes of Harrow, by Frank Yerby
The Great Promise, by Noel Houston
Panama Passage, by Donald Barr Chidsey
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New Republic News

One of the hardest jobs in our office, one of the most exciting, and sometimes the saddest, is reading the manuscripts submitted for publication. The task is divided among several people, of course, and anything which has the faintest glimmer of possibility is passed around the whole office for votes Yes or, alas, No. Our normal minimum is about 50 manuscripts a week, and because so much of our contents is planned and commissioned in advance, it is physically impossible to print more than one a week, on the average, of those which come drifting in unsolicited. That means that we have to break about 49 hearts a week, year in and year out.

Each author, naturally, considers a rejection proof of our ignorance, bad judgment or immorality, or a combination of all three. Some of them anticipate the blow with a defiant "Of course, I don't expect you to have brains enough to print this"; or a cynical "I know you are paid with British [or Russian, or Wall Street] gold to keep articles like mine out of print"; or a persuasive "Numbers of my friends will certainly buy the issue in which this appears"; or a disarming "You can print this for nothing—I just want the truth to prevail." Some really suspicious souls glue together pages 17 and 18, or invert the order somewhere, or drop a hair between two pages; and woe to the editor who fails to prove, by remedying these defects, that he read to the bitter end. (The stock answer, in all magazine offices, is, "You don't have to eat a whole egg to know it is bad.")

• • •

Like every other publication, we get our share of friendly cranks who drift in personally with the solution to all the world's problems under one arm—frequently written out at great length in soft pencil on school notebook paper and accompanied by big charts done in colored crayon with the Area of Economic Activity tinted blue and the Fundamental Purpose of the Universe tinted green. Perhaps our favorite among such callers was the middle-aged lady who came in some time ago with an excited gleam in her eye and her manuscript clutched to her bosom in both hands. She demanded to see the Editor, whereupon the following conversation took place:

LADY: Will you buy my manuscript?

EDITOR: We'll be glad to read it and let you know.

LADY: Certainly not! If I let you read it, what's to prevent your stealing my ideas?

EDITOR: How can we tell whether we ought to print it without reading it?

LADY: How can I let you read it, unless you promise first that you'll print it?

The conversation went around in this circle for some time and the lady finally left, with her unread manuscript still worn like a breastplate. We have been worrying ever since about what we may have missed.

Such people are, of course, the exceptions; most of our manuscripts are from friends and readers of the paper; probably 50 percent of those rejected deserve publication somewhere (and sometimes get it); a large proportion we should be glad to use if space were unlimited. This is one reason we urge all would-be contributors to communicate by letter before sending in a manuscript; there may be several good reasons why an article, excellent in itself, is unavailable for us at any given time. And to the 49 or so who next week, and every week, will get the bad news on an *NR* letterhead, we can only say, and hope they will believe it: It hurts us, too.

• • •

Benjamin F. Wright, professor of government at Harvard University, is the author of *The Growth of American Constitutional Law* and *The Contract Clause of the Constitution.*

Henry W. Ehrmann is a consultant for a government agency. His book, *French Labor in the Crisis of the Third Republic, 1933-44,* will soon be published by the Oxford University Press.

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